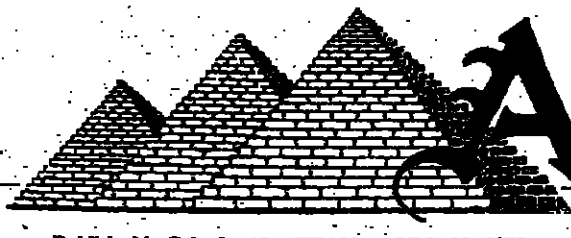




Annan,  
portrait of  
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# Al-Ahram

Weekly

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## Bleak outlook

FOREIGN Minister Amr Moussa, who is currently on a visit to Paris, met President Jacques Chirac yesterday and conveyed a message from President Hosni Mubarak.

Following the hour-long meeting, Moussa told reporters that the message dealt with the "obstacles" facing the Middle East peace process. Moussa blamed what he described as a "negative situation" on Israel's policy of establishing settlements in occupied territories. "This is illegal and unacceptable," Moussa said. "Everybody is pessimistic about the future of the peace process. This is not merely a French, Egyptian, Arab or European impression, but an international impression."

## Greek visit

GREEK President Costis Stephanopoulos begins a four-day visit to Egypt on Friday and is expected to be received by President Hosni Mubarak on Saturday. Talks are set to focus on bilateral ties, the peace process in the Middle East and other issues of common interest.

President Stephanopoulos will start his visit in Alexandria where he will meet members of the city's Greek community, before heading for Cairo later on Friday.

## Trade dispute

THE PALESTINIAN National Authority has rebuffed demands that Palestinian businessmen pay millions of dollars in back payments owed from contracts with Israel. At a meeting held in the West Bank town of Ramallah on Tuesday between the Israeli Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Palestinian Trade Minister Maher Al-Masry, Palestinian Deputy Trade Minister Samir Huileich said that before respecting bills and contracts, it would be better to solve the problems that obstruct trade between the two sides.

AFP reported that the Palestinians raised issues such as the Israeli closure imposed on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and the blocking of merchandise at border posts, which disrupts delivery and payment. The PNA refused an Israeli demand that Israeli businessmen be allowed to distribute directly in the West Bank and Gaza.

## Israeli raids

IF "ELI" warplanes rocketed suspected Hezbollah targets in south Lebanon three times early yesterday, Lebanese security forces said the planes fired several rockets onto Iqlim Al-Toufah ridge, but there was no immediate word on casualties in the air raid — the first into Lebanon since Sunday.

Yesterday's attacks came minutes after an exchange with machine guns and rocket-propelled grenades between Israeli forces and guerrillas on the north-eastern edge of the Israeli-occupied security zone in south Lebanon. Three guerrillas were killed in the exchange.

## Arabic bound

ALGERIA'S National Transitional Council, which replaced the parliament after the 1992 elections were cancelled, passed a controversial law on Tuesday setting a deadline for wider use of the Arabic language in official functions by 5 July 1998 and in schools by 2000. The law allows the use of foreign languages in international relations.

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## Ghali fires parting shot

GHANA'S Kofi Annan was sworn in as the new UN secretary-general for the next five years on Tuesday, amid optimism that his appointment would produce a long-awaited political truce with Washington. But outgoing Secretary-General Boutros Ghali almost stole the limelight with a tough farewell address in which he castigated the United States.

At a special General Assembly ceremony, Washington was the unnamed target of both men's speeches, with Annan and Ghali appealing to the United States to pay its arrears to save the United Nations. But while the 58-year-old Ghanaian urged a spirit of "healing" and consensus, Ghali, who was denied a second term by Washington, adopted an overtly critical tone and stressed that the secretary-general's independence was paramount.

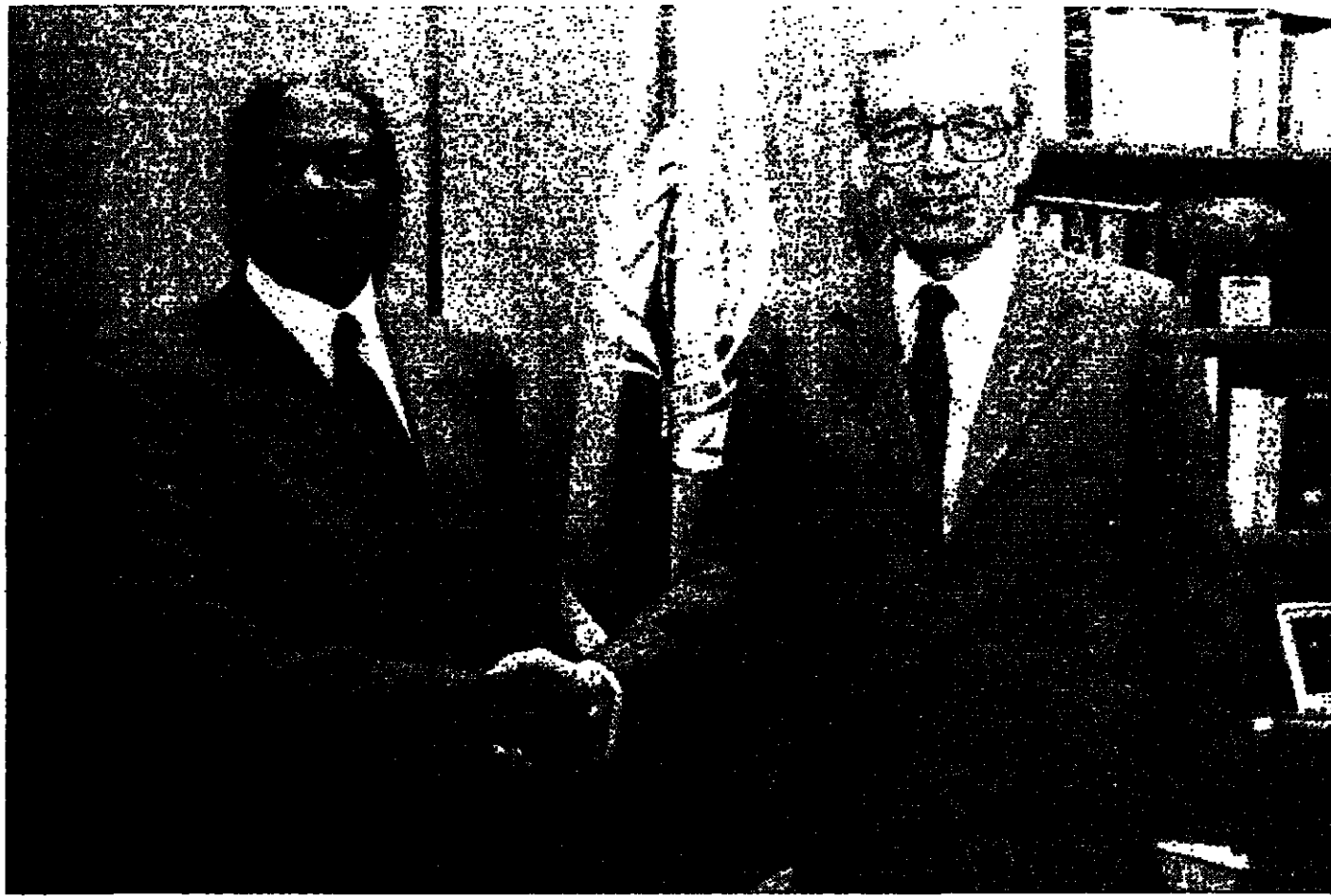
Ghali's hard-hitting speech, which won him a standing ovation, urged that "now a new secretary-general is being appointed, all arrears should be paid at once, as has been promised so often in the past few months."

Washington's longstanding delay in paying its dues, which now amount to more than \$1.3 billion, has precipitated the worst financial crisis in the 51-year history of the United Nations. The United States is the largest UN contributor, but also its biggest debtor.

The US Congress has linked payment of the US debt to the departure of Ghali, whose term saw a deterioration of relations between Washington and the United Nations, largely because he took an independent stand on issues ranging from Bosnia and Somalia to the Middle East. On 19 November, the US vetoed a second term for the 74-year-old Egyptian diplomat.

Ghali made his concern for the continued independence of the secretary-general clear to the assembly. "If one word above all is to characterise the role of the secretary-general, it is independence," he said.

Annan, who has until now held the post of under-secretary general for peacekeeping, says that restoring the financial stability of the United Nations will be among his top priorities. "Applaud us when we prevail, correct us when we fail, but above all, do not let this indispensable, irreplaceable institution wither, languish or perish as a result of member state indifference, inattention or financial starvation," he told the assembly.



AP/Wide World

## Mahdi seeks to outflank Bashir

With Sadig Al-Mahdi fleeing Khartoum, the Umma Party and the SPLA may be consummating a marriage of convenience to outsmart Sudan's ruling clique. **Gamal Nkrumah** talked to the Sudanese opposition leader

Unless you were born yesterday, you'll know that relations between Hassan Al-Turabi, the current speaker of the Sudanese parliament and leader of the National Islamic Front (NIF), and Sadig Al-Mahdi, the Umma Party leader and former Sudanese prime minister, were not always rock-bottom. From an outsider's perspective, the Sudanese political scene looks chaotic. Members of close-knit families often belong to rival political groups from opposite ends of the political spectrum.

But Sadig Al-Mahdi, who escaped from Khartoum to the Eritrean capital Asmara two weeks ago, strongly believes that Turabi and the NIF do not have a monopoly on Islamic teachings. Turabi and Sudanese President Omar Al-Bashir have played down the implications of Sadig Al-Mahdi's flight. Eritrean, Al-Mahdi's detractors say, will politically exhaust him. Others strongly believe that this is the beginning of the end for the Bashir-Turabi regime.

Why did Sadig Al-Mahdi escape from Khartoum at this particular juncture? His absence is a blow for the regime. Al-Mahdi told *Al-Ahram Weekly* in a telephone interview this week that the opposition's military operations against the regime were escalating. As leader of Sudan's largest opposition group, he had to be closer to the headquarters of opposition forces in Asmara. He also wants to mend his fences with Egypt.

"I am very sad about the deterioration in relations be-

tween Egypt and Sudan. We are brothers, and brothers sometimes have different views and opinions. Brothers sometimes disagree. But today, under the [Bashir-Turabi regime] things have gone too far. Relations between Egypt and Sudan have never been so bad. The [Khartoum] regime has established a police state in the name of Islam. It has embarked on a jihad against fellow Muslims. This is a reflection of the most reactionary partisan tendencies of extremists. The NIF's brand of Islam has led to the rapid deterioration of relations with Sudan's neighbours," Al-Mahdi said.

"There was a consensus among my supporters that the current regime is a murderous regime and that I should leave the country and go into political exile. I resisted going into exile for the past five years. The government's policy was to intimidate the people of Sudan. Of late it became quite clear that the government wanted to use me as a human shield and hold me responsible for the deeds of the external opposition. I was subjected to 24-hour surveillance and a vicious character assassination campaign. I decided to deprive the regime of their strategy, so I fled the country right under their noses on Thursday 5 December. It is a very important date for me personally and marks a watershed in my political career. The political struggle against the regime must be buttressed by armed struggle," Sadig Al-Mahdi told the *Weekly*.

John Garang, leader of the Sudan People's Liberation

Army (SPLA), happened to be in Asmara when Sadig Al-Mahdi arrived. "Garang was in Asmara and heard that I was in town. He decided to pay me a courtesy call. This was not the first time I had met Garang. I last met him in July 1986 when I was prime minister — I am still the popularly elected prime minister of Sudan. We had our disagreements, but we agreed that it was imperative to stop the civil war in southern Sudan. We both agreed that there could be no end of civil war without addressing the many grievances of the southern Sudanese people. There must be a just settlement of the crisis and the legitimate aspirations of the southerners must be fulfilled. Cooperation was not possible then," Al-Mahdi stressed.

"Today, the situation is very different. We are in opposition to the regime and now we work more closely together. I believe that this relationship — between the SPLA and the Umma Party — is crucial for Sudanese unity. My being here in Asmara is an opportunity to cement our working relationship. It must be cemented within the context of the National Democratic Alliance (the umbrella organisation of Sudanese opposition groups). We must take steps to preserve Sudanese unity, but a plebiscite must be held to decide the issue of na-

tional self-determination for the southerners," said Al-Mahdi.

Al-Wathiq Kamir, a member of the Sudan Forces Alliance and the New Sudan Brigade (NSB), told the *Weekly*: "There are three important points to remember concerning Sadig Al-Mahdi's departure from Khartoum. Al-Mahdi is the legitimate leader of Sudan — being the country's popularly elected prime minister. Second, Al-Mahdi was until last week the leader of the so-called internal opposition. His escape from Khartoum removes the claim often made by detractors of the Sudanese opposition forces that a chasm lies between the internal and external opposition. Al-Mahdi's move can only strengthen the opposition forces. Third, Al-Mahdi has an enormous following as leader of Sudan's largest political grouping, the Umma Party. Al-Mahdi also has all the prestige of a tribal leader in northern, central and especially western Sudan. He is also the leader of an influential religious organisation — the *Ansar* or Mahdist movement."

## Stand-off over settlements

As Arafat ploughs on with negotiations over redeployment from Hebron, the lighted fuse of Netanyahu's aggressive settlement policy continues to burn, writes **Graham Usher** from Jerusalem

The resumption on 16 December, of Palestinian-Israeli talks on the Hebron redeployment has, for now, lowered the heat in the Occupied Territories. Following President Clinton's stem — by his standards — rebuke of the Likud government's settlement policies, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said he expected to wrap up a deal on Hebron "in the next few days." PLO leader Yasser Arafat reiterated that he was "ready to meet the Israeli leader at any time, at any place."

But few Palestinians are holding their breath — including, it appears, Arafat. On 17 December he embarked on a short trip to Austria and Italy, suggesting that he, at least, is not expecting a Hebron agreement any time soon. The reason was supplied by the PLO's representative in Jerusalem, Khalil Hussein. "As long as the current atmosphere endures, there will be no progress on Hebron," he said.

The "current atmosphere" has been caused by two Israeli government decisions which, last week, brought the Palestinian Authority (PA) and Israel to the very edge of confrontation. The renewal of negotiations on Hebron may be seen as a last-ditch effort by both sides to avert it. On 10 December, Israel's Jerusalem District Planning Committee approved the construction of 132 housing units for a Jewish neighbourhood in Ras Al-Amud, a small village in occupied East Jerusalem. Ras Al-Amud has around 11,000 inhabitants, all of them Palestinian. Should the plan go ahead — says Israeli Peace Now spokesman, Alon Aronson — it would be "the first time since the Six Day War in 1967 that any Israeli government has decided to build a settlement in the heart of a Palestinian neighbourhood." The anticipated Palestinian reaction to such a precedent was sketched by Hussein. "An explosion," he said, "immediately."

A small explosion came the very next day. In the first armed operation of its type for nearly five months, two Jewish settlers were killed in a drive-by shooting on the road to Beit El, a settlement near Ramallah. The PLO's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) claimed responsibility for the attack, insisting that the Palestinian struggle against Israel

would continue "as long as the occupation and settlements continue." The hit found some popularity on the Palestinian street, but among the PA leadership it was received with absolute dismay.

Having lost the diplomatic initiative to Arafat after the September clashes, Beit El offered Netanyahu a rare chance to retrieve it. He imposed a closure on Ramallah, demanded that the PA extradite all suspects to Israel and vowed, at the settlers' funeral, that settlements under Likud would not be "uprooted — they will be strengthened".

More damagingly, the fact that the assailants fled into Ramallah enabled the Israeli Defence Forces to request, and obtain, permission from the PA to enter the self-rule area to investigate the wreckage of the attackers' car. Netanyahu made sure the political significance of this was lost on no one. "Now you realise why we are insisting on security arrangements in Hebron," he told a press conference on 11 December.

But the real punishment for Beit El was still to come. On 13 December, the Israeli cabinet voted to reinstate subsidies and tax incentives to all settlements in the Occupied Territories, by granting them the status of "national priority" areas. This reinstatement has been on the table since July. The decision to grant national priority status now was widely read as a sop to appease Netanyahu's outraged settler constituency, a motive tacitly admitted by an aide to the Israeli prime minister. "There was pressure by settlers to build new settlements, but instead we agreed to pass the special incentives," he said after the vote.

Denials by Israeli Foreign Minister David Levy that the reinstatement of incentives is a sign of "a new settlement drive" should not delude anyone, least of all the Palestinians. Under the Labour government, subsidies were maintained for

## US-Israeli clash

US AND Israeli officials have clashed over President Bill Clinton's remarks criticising Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's new settlement policy. Netanyahu's top aide, David Bar-Ilan, referred to Clinton's criticism as "semantic posturing", a remark which US State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said was disrespectful to Clinton who was a friend of Israel.

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## Mubarak warns of 'grave consequences'

DURING a visit to the Sixth of October city on Monday, President Hosni Mubarak issued a warning against the negative consequences of the current stalemate in peace efforts and also the establishment of Jewish settlements in Occupied Territories.

"The situation in which we are at present is a sad situation. The stalemate gives rise to fear and should not be allowed to continue," Mubarak told reporters. What is needed, he said, is Israeli flexibility. "This is not a defence of the Palestinians but of regional stability. If the stalemate continues, it will have grave consequences."

Asked about the Israeli government's plan to expand Jewish settlements, Mubarak said: "This is a very grave matter and is bound to complicate the [peace] process." Mubarak described the United States as "the principal partner in the peace process and the key to peace in the region." Asked about reports received by the Arab League indicating a radioactive leakage from Israel's Dimona reactor in the Negev desert near Sinai, Mubarak said: "I have no sure information about this. But if there is a leakage, this will be a grave matter and we will then take a position."

Answering a question whether the food-for-oil deal reached by Iraq and the United Nations opened the door for an Arab-Israeli reconciliation, Mubarak said: "Reconciliation needs time because some Gulf states, such as Kuwait, continue to have apprehensions. Confidence-building is required. Iraq also must implement all resolutions of the Security Council and release the [Kuwaiti] prisoners. Other steps are also needed. When all this is done, then it will be possible to talk of an Arab reconciliation with Iraq."



# War is no option

"The possibility of war is not on the horizon," according to Osama El-Baz, President Hosni Mubarak's top political adviser. Judging by the available military information and data, he said, "neither Israel nor any of the Arab countries is considering the option of war now or in the near future."

Speaking at the Judges' Club, El-Baz described Israeli statements that Egypt and Syria were massing troops on their borders and preparing for war against Israel as "attempts to blackmail the Arabs." Those who issued such statements "are making light of the consequences of another war in the region," he said, adding that attempts to rally hostile feelings against the Arabs have failed, "because Arab leaders have made it clear that peace is a strategy rather than just a tactic. Israel can no longer justify its going to war against the Arabs."

War required certain preparations, El-Baz continued, including troop mobilisation, modernisation of the military machine and expansion of the military budget. "In this day and age, such preparations are very difficult to keep a secret," he said, pointing out that satellite data was readily available for most countries, and that since Egypt signed a peace treaty with Israel 17 years ago "we are able to stay in touch with what is happening inside Israel."

With more than half of the Israeli people against another war with the Arabs, and some Israelis refusing to perform their obligatory military service, Israel was aware that war would not be easy, El-Baz said. "Even the military establishment no longer supports the war

War is not a current option for any of the Middle East's states, and peace is the Arabs' strategic objective, according to the president's political adviser. Nevine Khalil reports



option, because the price would be too high."

Asked about Israel's nuclear option, El-Baz replied that it remained as a deterrent only, and that the "political and psychological" consequences of actually using a nuclear weapon would mean the payment of "a very high price." The world's nuclear powers, especially those who are signatories of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, would have the responsibility to check Israel in such an event, he added. In any case, he continued, Israel's proximity to its would-be enemies would expose it to fallout from a nuclear explosion.

El-Baz reviewed other outstanding issues between Egypt and Israel, including an Israeli investigation of the killing of Egyptian prisoners of war at the hands of the Israelis during the wars of 1956 and 1967. He said

the Egyptian government had a responsibility to act on the Israeli revelations concerning the killings, and that Cairo took the issue "very seriously." He urged the Israeli government to carry out a "fair and honest" investigation of the killings, "primarily so that we know the truth, and then we can decide what we will do."

El-Baz recalled that Shimon Peres' government wanted the hostile media campaign in Egypt to end so that witnesses would not be intimidated into retracting their confessions "for political reasons." "The first phase, the investigation, is still under way, because we want to define how much responsibility falls on individual Israeli soldiers for these atrocities, and how far the Israeli state is to blame," El-Baz said.

On the question of regional cooperation, El-Baz em-

phasised that an Arab common market, similar to the European Union, was a prerequisite for a Middle Eastern market including both the Arab states and Israel. He said that the Arab summit last June gave priority to an Arab market, and if studies were finished by the end of 1997, an Arab common market could be set up within four years, "an achievement in itself, considering the EU took 40 years," he said.

El-Baz rejected the argument that Arab regimes are too dissimilar and therefore cannot be united, commenting that "common factors like religion, language and heritage far outweigh differences." In the evolving world order, it would be difficult for a single country to deal with the economic blocs which are expanding by the day, he said, "which is why the Arabs have to form a bloc to serve their common interests."

Another subject currently under study is the European proposal for creating a European Rapid Operation Force (EUROFOR) to function south of the Mediterranean. El-Baz said that Egypt, along with the other states concerned, was looking into the proposal and would form an opinion within the coming weeks. EUROFOR, proposed by France, Italy, Spain and Portugal, will use military units to carry out emergency humanitarian operations like evacuating foreign civilians in a coup d'état situation, peace-keeping operations in war zones and crisis management. "Although some believe this idea has colonial overtones," El-Baz said, "the initiators are very friendly states and we should consider their proposal."

## Compensation money

THE WEEKLY newspaper *Al-Ahram*, mouthpiece of the leftist Tagammu party, has agreed to pay novelist Tharwat Abaza the sum of LE5,000 in court-ordered compensation. The newspaper gave its consent after it was warned by the court that its assets could be impounded for its failure to pay.

Abdel-Aal El-Baqouri, the newspaper's editor-in-chief, cited administrative and legal procedures to explain the delay. "We are also known as a newspaper with limited resources, but we were planning to pay anyway," he said. El-Baqouri said that a court employee visited the newspaper's downtown headquarters last week and decided to impound one of its computers if it failed to pay. The court set 9 January as the deadline for payment.

"Of course we were going to pay, but I really regret that fellow newspapers made a big issue out of nothing in order to satisfy Abaza," El-Baqouri said. Abaza, a member of the Shura Council, had filed a lawsuit against *Al-Ahram* for publishing an article by journalist Salah Eissa which the court found to be libelous.

## 'Iron lady' stays in Athens

THE GREEK Supreme Court ordered last Thursday that Hoda Abdel-Moneim, the so-called iron lady who fled Egypt 10 years ago, should not be turned over to Egyptian authorities, thus quashing a lower court's decision to extradite her at Cairo's request.

Egypt had demanded Abdel-Moneim's extradition to serve a three-year imprisonment sentence passed against her in absentia for issuing a bad cheque for the amount of \$50,000. But the Egyptian government's case against Abdel-Moneim was weakened when her defence attorney presented the court with documents proving that she had paid the value of the cheque later. The attorney also presented the court with other documents showing that Abdel-Moneim had made a donation of \$250,000 to the Greek Orthodox Church in Greece.

In previous hearings, Abdel-Moneim claimed that she was Christian and was harassed by Egyptian authorities for making donations to Egyptian churches. Before her escape from Egypt, Abdel-Moneim ran a land-developing company by the name of Hedeo. She reportedly collected millions of pounds from the would-be buyers of apartments in condominium buildings which her company was constructing. But instead of delivering the apartments to the buyers or re-imbursement them, she fled the country, reportedly with the help of a high official.

## House collapse

SEVEN brothers and sisters were killed along with their grandmother on Monday when the wall of an adjoining building crushed their two-story house in the village of Bandar Nasser in the governorate of Beni-Suef south of Cairo. The children, aged between seven and 14, and the 60-year-old grandmother were sleeping when the wall of the adjacent and vacant building crumbled, leveling their house. The children's 40-year-old mother was seriously wounded. The father was not home at the time of the tragedy. Authorities had ordered the evacuation of the house several months ago, considering it unsafe.

## Disabled students in revolt

About 80 disabled students, some in wheelchairs, others on crutches, demonstrated on the grounds of Ain Shams University to protest their expulsion, along with nearly 100 other disabled colleagues, by the university's administration. The administration argued that they did not fulfil the criteria which would have earned them a university place with lower marks than those required of able-bodied students.

The expulsions took place despite the fact that medical examination committees had determined the students suffered from some form of disability before the start of the academic year. On the basis of these findings, the students were allowed to enrol in the university. But the Ain Shams administration argues that incorrect criteria to determine disability was applied, and the decision to admit the students was reversed three months after the new term began. According to Decree 333 of 1992 issued by the Supreme Council of Universities, a disabled student is defined as one who cannot depend completely on himself or herself, and needs help to attend and follow university courses. Disabled students are allowed to enrol in the faculties of arts,

law and commerce in any Egyptian university, provided that the total aggregate of their marks in the secondary school certificate is not less than 50 per cent. In other words, while an able-bodied student is required to have a total aggregate of, say, 60 per cent, to enrol in one of those faculties, a disabled student can gain admission with a lower mark.

The students demonstrated on Saturday, Sunday and Monday, with protesters carrying banners, some emblazoned in red ink, pleading with administration to allow them to re-enrol. "You have no feelings; fear God," said one of the banners. Another read: "Please have mercy on us, our families and our future."

The Ain Shams University president, Abdel-Wahab Abdel-Hafez, responded by vowing that he would reinstate the 178 expelled students if they were properly qualified for a university place.

But, according to other senior officials, this was unlikely. "I do not believe that this could happen," said Alieddin Hilal, secretary-general of the Supreme Council of Universities. "As far as I know, the expelled students do not qualify for a place under the rules. These rules should be followed by all Egyptian universities."

The findings of the reports submitted by

the medical examination committees, defining the students as disabled, were wrong, according to Hassan Ghallab, the university's vice-president. "These students do not understand the official definition of disability. Under the decree, a person who uses a wheelchair or who has had one arm or leg amputated does not qualify as disabled," he said. "A disabled student must be either blind or has lost use of both arms or both legs. It is only this category of students which the decree, and I, consider disabled."

The university administration's mistake was not in expelling the students, but in doing so three months after the start of the academic year, Ghallab said.

Hamed Shatta, dean of the Faculty of Medicine and head of the medical examination committees, steered a middle course. He acknowledged that the students were disabled, but added: "They do not suffer from severe disability and thus are not entitled by law to enrol in the university."

Dalia Mustafa, a first-year student in the Faculty of Arts, suffers from a total paralysis of her right hand and leg. "I really need someone to drive me to the university," she said. "And yet, the administration dismissed me because they do not consider me a disabled person. They told me that I can use my left hand to take down lecture notes. They do not understand that I can hardly use my left hand because it is too weak."

What constitutes disability? A definition is at the centre of a row over the expulsion of 178 students from Ain Shams University. As Reem Lella reports, the students have staged demonstrations to protest their dismissal

Mahmoud Auda, dean of the Faculty of Arts, said the expelled were "making a big fuss about nothing. Most of them are either registered, or can be accepted, at other faculties or high institutes. They have not lost much, only a month and a half because they were only admitted on the 16th of last October."

The plight of the students expelled from Ain Shams has had precedents at Cairo and Alexandria universities, which cited the same decree to turn down dozens of disabled students at the beginning of the academic year.

Many of them demonstrated outside the Cairo University campus, blocking traffic in the area for hours.

At Alexandria University, several complaints were filed with the administration by disabled students who had been barred. As a result, medical committees were directed to re-examine them and determine whether they met the legal criteria. "The university has accepted about 90 per cent of the total number of disabled students who applied this year," said Fathi Abou Ayman, the university's vice-president. "The rest are not considered as disabled. The student whose legs are paralysed or who suffers from a severe atrophy of the muscles of his hands is not a disabled person."

Some of the expelled students have threatened to take their universities to court. But Anwar Rastan, dean of Cairo

University's Faculty of Law, advised against it. "They will lose," he said. "The medical reports show that they are disabled, but they do not meet the legal criteria of disability."

In a published statement, Education Minister Hussein Kamel Bahaddin said the expelled students had "not met the conditions laid down by the Supreme Council of Universities to qualify as completely disabled. To allow them to enrol, regardless of their marks, would violate the principle of equality of opportunity."

Bahaddin said the students had been directed to enrol at other faculties and institutes which would deal with them on the basis of the aggregate of their marks in the secondary school certificate.

## Having faith in IDs

The Interior Ministry is taking in its stride a lawsuit filed by a human rights activist demanding that the religion category be dropped from new identity cards which the ministry will begin to issue at the start of 1997.

"There are basic data which should be included in every identity card and religion is one of them," said Police Maj. Gen. Ahmed Busila, head of the ministry's civil status department.

The lawsuit was filed with an administrative court by lawyer Mamdouh Nakhlia, a Copt, contesting the legality of Article 33 of the civil status law which stipulates that a person's religion should be listed in his/her identity card.

Nakhlia claimed the procedure undermined national unity and could fuel sectarian strife, but the argument was rejected by Busila. "Listing religion in IDs does not put restrictions on choosing one's re-

ligion. There is no persecution or discrimination involved," he said. Nakhlia claims that the current ID format is illegal as it contains data that were not provided for by a civil status law issued in 1994 as well as the earlier law of 1964. However, an amendment was passed in 1995, making the listing of religion mandatory.

Before the passing of this amendment, Nakhlia said "there was not a single article in the aforementioned laws that stipulated that the religious classification of a person should be mentioned in his/her ID."

But an official at the civil status office in the Giza district of Agouza said that religion was always listed in identity cards even before the 1964 law was passed. "There are certain data that we may include upon a citizen's demand but we cannot eliminate basic data such as marital status, religion or date of birth," the official said.

The Interior Ministry is unimpressed by the demand of a human rights activist to strike off the religion denomination from identity cards

But Nakhlia believes the practice is discriminatory. "The reason behind this lawsuit is that all citizens belong to the same nation and we should work to promote their peaceful coexistence, regardless of their religious classification," he said. "Moreover, this practice does not exist in any civil state. Religion is mentioned in birth certificates only, and not in IDs."

Nakhlia claims that some people feel discriminated against when their religious affiliation is disclosed. "Some people feel embarrassed when they produce their IDs only to find out that their employer belongs to a different faith," he said.

But Busila took issue with this claim. "I have people who come and say they want to add their mother's name to the ID or women who ask that their age not be mentioned. But nobody asked that his religious affiliation be deleted," Busila said.

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### ANNOUNCEMENT 1

THE GIZA ZOO ANNOUNCES AND INVITES NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ANIMAL DEALERS TO SUPPLY WILD ANIMALS, BIRDS AND REPTILES FOR A BID PLANNED TO BE HELD THURSDAY 30/1/97 IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS TECHNICAL AND FINANCIAL INSTRUCTIONS.

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(l-r) Defence Minister Tantawi awards Press Syndicate Chairman and Al-Ahram board chairman and chief-editor, Ibrahim Nafie, the Armed Forces Shield; the Weekly's defence correspondent Nassar receives the armed forces award for best interview

IN A CEREMONY organised jointly with the Press Syndicate, the armed forces this week presented its annual awards for best reporting on defence issues. The ceremony was held at the Galan Officers Club in Heliopolis, and was attended by Defence Minister, Field Marshal Mohamed Hussein Tantawi, Information Minister Safwat El-Sherif, Press Syndicate Chairman Ibrahim Nafie and a host of armed forces and media personalities, including defence correspondents of the various press publications, both national and opposition. The Defence and Information Ministers exchanged

the shields of their respective ministries, while Nafie, in his capacity as Press Syndicate Chairman was awarded the Armed Forces Shield by Tantawi. For the fourth year running, *Al-Ahram Weekly* has won highest honours. Galal Nassar, the Weekly's defence correspondent, was awarded first prize for the best press interview of 1995-96 for an interview with

Defence Minister Field Marshal Mohamed Hussein Tantawi in October 1995, on the eve of Tantawi's departure for a visit to the United States. First prize for spot coverage went to *Al-Akhar*'s Taher Qabil, while Mohamed Ali El-Sayed of *Akhar Sa'a* magazine won first prize for the best news feature. The photography prize went to *Al-Ahram*'s Nour Sobehi.

Field Marshal Tantawi also awarded Nassar, as the Weekly's representative, a special certificate of merit. Addressing the gathering, Maj. Gen. Samir Farag, director of the Morale Department of the armed forces, lauded the military reporters for keeping Egyptians, and Arabs in general, well informed on the activities of the Defence Ministry and the armed forces. The

coverage of the Badr-96 military exercise drew special praise for "conveying the message to Egypt and other states in the region that the armed forces are in a high state of combat readiness in order to protect our land and the national security." Farag added that the Defence Ministry's Information Department had taken giant strides forward by opening an audio-visual centre and a new printing press, and that several journalists had enrolled at the National Defence College of the Nasser Military Academy for advanced defence and national security studies.

## Top honours

# Alarm sounded about normalisation's spies

The confessions of Ezzat Ismail, an Egyptian arrested on charges of spying for Israel, have brought to light what is believed to be a new Israeli espionage strategy, specially evolved for peace time. Ismail admitted that the Israeli intelligence service, Mossad, requested him to provide information on factories, workers and production at the industrial 10th of Ramadan City, the public sector companies that are being put up for privatisation and the conditions of Egyptians working in Arab countries.

In doing so, Ismail appeared to be taking advantage of the climate of peace and misusing legitimate channels for normalising relations for espionage purposes. Israeli agents cross the border into Egypt legally and under the legitimate cover of jobs in farms or factories, they gather information about Egypt's new industrial cities, infrastructure, businessmen and business ventures. But according to Egyptian anti-espionage sources, those suspected of engaging in such activities are kept under close watch by the Egyptian security authorities.

Ismail was arrested along with Azzam Azzam, an Israeli Arab. Ismail owned a textile factory which was on the verge of bankruptcy and closure. According to a senior security source, Azzam arrived in Egypt in the company of an Israeli busi-

nessman, who offered to bail Ismail out. Ismail and the businessman became partners, with Ismail practically turning over the factory to his Israeli associate. A joint venture for exporting jeans to Europe was launched under the name of Teyron. Azzam worked as a technician in the factory and became a close friend of Ismail's.

Through their association, which included excursions to Israel, Azzam soon realised that Ismail was ready to do anything in order to get money for his factory. At this point, Azzam revealed his identity as a Mossad agent and managed to enlist Ismail's services.

According to the Egyptian security source, the type of information requested from Ismail reflected "Israel's ambition to gain economic hegemony over the region through the setting up and manipulation of a Middle Eastern common market." In order to control this market, Israel sought to build up a socio-political database, particularly concerning Egypt, which it views as a rival in any regional arrangement.

The "Teyron operation" was known to the Egyptian security authorities from its very beginning, the source said, and remained under its control. Ismail and Azzam were kept under surveillance which proved, beyond any shadow of a doubt, the source asserts, that they were spying for Israel. Their arrest was perfectly legal.

Israeli intelligence activities in Egypt are now targeting the country's economic, and not just defence, capabilities, writes Galal Nassar after looking into the investigation files of the latest Israeli spy cases and talking to intelligence experts

the source added. The two confessed that Ismail was being provided with the equipment and funds necessary for renovating his factory in return for supplying Israel with information.

Security reports are sounding the alarm about the presence in Egypt of dozens of Israeli companies, some of which have become involved in joint ventures with Egyptian companies or have provided them with finance. Some of the Israeli companies prefer to make a quick profit at the expense of Egyptian economy and the Egyptian taxpayer, and then head back home. Many among the staff of those Israeli companies are agents for Mossad or Shin Bet, Israel's internal security apparatus, Egyptian security sources charge.

Before the arrest of Azzam, an Israeli intelligence officer, whose name has been withheld, was expelled from Egypt for

spying and banned from re-entering the country. This officer, sources say, acted to ruin the good name of Egyptian furniture exports to Europe, sources say.

Security sources refer also to the case of an American businessman, who, they believe, he acted to deliberately undermine the interests of Egyptian businessmen and succeeded in causing a number of them heavy losses. One of these businessmen is Mahmoud El-Shehawi, a member of the Shura Council, who was cheated out of sums of LE250,000 and \$35,000 by this woman, in transactions which turned out to be bogus, the sources say. A letter proving this woman's Shin Bet connection was found in her possession, the sources say.

According to security sources, Israel began using Israeli-Arabs in espionage after other nationals encountered difficulty in

gathering information. Israeli-Arabs, it was thought, would find it easier to infiltrate Arab societies. This shift in Israeli strategy could be traced to a "confrontation" that took place recently between an Israeli businessman, who is a frequent visitor to Cairo, and the Ministry of Education. This woman offered to provide the ministry with Israeli-made computers and computer programmes in an apparent attempt to infiltrate the Egyptian education system as a first step towards other intrusions. The offer was promptly turned down.

On the basis of these repeated Israeli infiltration attempts, many of which have not been publicised, the security authorities have listed various categories of agents who could pose as employees of major companies and factories. There are agents who seek to recruit Egyptians to work for Israel, others who gather information and yet others bent on subverting the factory or project that employs them. There are also information analysts, rumour mongers and industrial spies posing as businessmen or marketing experts.

The security authorities have also warned the country's major companies against Israeli threats, which include attempts to obstruct and sabotage Egyptian industries and markets, and to turn the Egyptian market into a satellite to Israel's economy.

There is yet another pattern to Israel's peace time economic espionage, according to security sources. They cite various occasions in which Israel is said to have pirated Egyptian products and ideas. Not only are the designs of Egyptian carpets, furniture and even underwear pirated, but any successful Egyptian project or idea is "borrowed" and an imitation rival launched, security sources say. When Egypt disclosed plans for a Disneyland in Alexandria, Israel announced similar plans for Haifa. When Cairo began building the "Hollywood of the Middle East", Israel said it would establish a major cinema-production city. When Cairo spoke of a Riviera along the Red Sea coast, Israel announced a similar project at Eilat, security sources say.

The latest theft of an Egyptian idea, according to these sources, involved a project for golf courses, a plan which would attract thousands of visitors and net millions of dollars in revenue. Marking the introduction of golf tourism to this country, the courses are planned to cover 200 feddans along the Ismailia highway northeast of Cairo and will be surrounded by 520 villas for visitors' accommodation. But no sooner was the announcement made in Cairo, than Israel said it was establishing golf courses at Ashkelon and Caesaria, north of Tel Aviv.

## Mercedes fracas

Accusations of corruption levelled by an Arabic-language weekly magazine against a top Television official are expected to result in his dismissal. Khaled Dawoud reports

A report published by the weekly magazine *Rose El-Youssef* three weeks ago under the headline "Scandal on the Nile", accusing an unnamed official of corruption has triggered a chain reaction that may cost Mam-

douh El-Leithi his job as chief of the production sector at Egyptian Television. Without mentioning El-Leithi or Egyptian Television, the report, by the Magazine's Deputy Chief Editor Adel Hammouda, ac-

cused a top official at "one of the government's most influential institutions concerned with propagating morality" of receiving a brand new Mercedes E200 worth LE482,000 from a wealthy Arab Gulf notable.

The last thing Hammouda apparently expected was that this official would respond by filing a complaint with prosecution authorities accusing Hammouda of libel and then admitting that he had indeed received the car from the rich Arab.

El-Leithi, an influential manager at Egyptian Television, runs a department with a multi-million-pound budget for producing television series, video clips and other entertainment programmes. In his complaint to the prosecutor, he defended his having received a car from the Arab notable. He claimed, and provided documents to prove the claim, that he was given the car in the form of a gift in return for writing the script of a 30-episode television series for the MBC satellite channel, owned by the brother of Saudi Arabian Sheikh Abdel-Aziz Ibrahim Al-Brahim. El-Leithi also alleged that Hammouda published the report after the production sector refused to buy two of his books to turn them into television series.

El-Leithi, originally a script-writer for some of the most well-known Egyptian films produced in the 1960s and '70s, stopped writing after he took over his post at Egyptian Television. More important, the price allegedly paid in return for writing the script of the series, titled *Freedom Apartment*, was extremely high by Egyptian standards. According to reports in the Arabic-language press, the highest paid script-writers in Egypt at present, such as Osama Anwar Okasha and Walid Hamed, do not get more than LE4,000 for each episode they write for Egyptian Television or the mushrooming satellite channels, mostly owned by Saudi entrepreneurs. Thus, even if El-Leithi got double the average price, that would still not add up to the value of the expensive car he received.

In his original report, Hammouda said that he spoke on the telephone to the unnamed official (El-Leithi), who confirmed that he received the car but said that, although its licence carried his name, it was for the use of the Saudi sheikh during his visits to Egypt. According to Hammouda, nothing at the time was said about the script El-Leithi allegedly wrote for the satellite channel.

The reason cited by Hammouda for El-Leithi's expensive present is that he took no action against attractive television actress Sherine Seif El-Nasr who failed to show up for the shooting of an Egyptian Television series due to her involvement in an affair with the Saudi sheikh. Seif El-Nasr's mother subsequently announced that her daughter was married to the Saudi sheikh and that they were together on their honeymoon.

But, according to Hammouda, the honeymoon had started long before it was announced to the public. Questioned by the prosecutor last week, Hammouda claimed that Seif El-Nasr's failure to show up had cost the production sector no less than LE150,000 for constructing locations that were not used and tailoring clothes for the actresses.

Hammouda also alleged that El-Leithi, who is said to wield strong influence on dozens of minor actresses working for Egyptian Television, helped in organising parties to entertain the

sheikh and his friends during their visits to Egypt.

Information Minister Safwat El-Sherif has referred the whole affair for investigation by the administrative prosecutor — a department charged with investigating government officials suspected of wrongdoing. El-Sherif also brought to an end rumours that El-Leithi was a candidate to head the board of trustees of the Egyptian Radio and Television Union. He appointed Abdel-Rahman Hafez, the head of another sector in Egyptian Television, to fill this post which had become vacant following the transfer to another post of Amin Bassiouni. Sources at the Information Ministry told *Al-Ahram Weekly* there was a great possibility that El-Leithi would not be given another post, even if the administrative prosecutor's investigation proved his innocence.

In the complaint filed against Hammouda, El-Leithi denied that he did favours for Seif El-Nasr, insisting that he had ordered an investigation of her failure to show up for the shooting. He said she was immediately replaced by another actress and quoted Seif El-Nasr as telling officials that she had to travel abroad for surgery on her leg.

Despite repeated attempts by the *Weekly*, El-Leithi could not be reached for comment. Hammouda, for his part, had a long queue of journalists seeking more information about the scandal and its consequences. "There is nothing personal between me and El-Leithi," Hammouda told the *Weekly* in response to a question whether the publication of the *Rose El-Youssef* report was related to the fact that El-Leithi was a candidate for the top post at the Radio and Television Union. "He (El-Leithi) was the one who turned the matter into a big case and a matter of concern to public opinion by going to the prosecutor-general and complaining against me. That was the surprising development."

Hammouda almost lost his temper when he was asked the oft-made question why he targeted El-Leithi although rumours about the corrupt practices of other officials were making the rounds. "I am a journalist and I publish the information that is available to me," he said. "Get me authentic documents proving the corruption of any official and I will publish them. So, the question of why this one and not the other should not be asked. There is a lot of talk and rumours but what counts are the documents and the evidence."

In the case of El-Leithi, Hammouda said, he had a strong piece of evidence: a receipt from the company that sold the car stating that it received its value from the Saudi sheikh and that it was a "present" to El-Leithi, so that it could be registered in his name. Hammouda also said that because of El-Leithi's influential media post, the affair gained greater public attention than other corruption cases revealed in the past by the magazine, although bigger amounts of money were involved in those cases.

Hammouda argued that even if it was true that El-Leithi received the car in return for writing the script for the satellite channel, "how could we accept that the head of such an important sector in Egyptian Television work for a rival company? Maybe this will provide an answer to the question of why Egyptian Television lags behind while other Arab television channels are advancing."

Edited by Wadie Kirolos

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# No light at tunnel's end

Despite initiatives and meetings between Palestinians and Israelis, Palestinian-Israeli relations are at their worst. Tarek Hassan reports from Gaza

It has become increasingly evident that the US and Israel are opposed to a prominent and effective Egyptian role in support of the Palestinians. This opposition aims at the elimination of the Egyptian role and Egypt's isolation to serve US-Israeli interests. Dori Gold, the political adviser to the Israeli prime minister, explained the opposition to Egypt's intervention in support of the Palestinians by stating that it would further complicate matters and would not help bring about a settlement.

Israel's opposition to Egypt's role has been the reason why Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Mousa did not make his planned visit to Israel. Last Monday, there was talk in Israel about a prospective visit by Dori Gold to Egypt to discuss the obstacles to the peace process with Egyptian officials. Mohamed Bassiouni, the Egyptian ambassador in Tel Aviv, however, told *Al-Abram Weekly* that no one had contacted him regarding Gold's visit, but confirmed that Yitzhak Mordechai, Israel's minister of defence, would be visiting Egypt next week to meet with President Mubarak. The visit is in no way related to the two countries' bilateral relations, but will focus on the means to push forward the staggering peace process.

Mordechai is one of three members in the Israeli official committee entrusted with the follow-up of the peace negotiations. The other two members are the prime minister and the foreign minister of Israel, David Levy, the Israeli foreign minister, also will visit Amman on Thursday for talks with top Jordanian officials and King Hussein regarding developments in the peace process. The visit to Amman takes place only a few days after the visit of Jordan's information minister, Marwan

Al-Moashar, to Israel for talks with Israeli officials. The intensification of visits by Israeli officials to Arab countries is meant to give the impression that Israel is eager to pursue the peace process. These visits attempt to provide explanations and justifications for Israel's recent settlement measures which are seen in Arab countries as signs of a deterioration of the peace process.

The latest Israeli moves are regarded by the Palestinians as new attempts to evade Israel's commitments under the peace agreements. Israel is contenting itself with a mere "public relations" approach which Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has been orchestrating since he came to power. The acceptance by Arab countries of visits from Israeli officials reflects the current dilemma in Arab-Israeli relations. The intensification of US pressure is also directed toward creating the impression that there are signs of peace despite Israel's evasion and procrastination.

US pressures led Arafat last week to agree to meet with a special envoy of Netanyahu and Danny Naveh, the information director of the Israeli government. The meeting took place even before the outrage over Netanyahu's decision to encourage the expansion of settlements in the occupied Palestinian land had subsided. Worse still, it fell on the very day Netanyahu declared that Palestinian elements had been fomenting violence against Israel.

According to Nabil Abu Rdema, the spokesman for Arafat, the Palestinian leader came under pressure from the two Israeli officials during the meeting held last Sunday evening in his office in Gaza. He reluctantly agreed to speak to Ne-

tanyahu on the phone.

While the US and Israel are jointly exerting pressure for Arafat to meet with Netanyahu, they are at the same time jointly manoeuvring to obstruct Amr Mousa's visit to Israel. This smacks of a premeditated plan to marginalise Egypt's role in support of the Palestinians. The US has dispatched an official invitation to Arafat and Netanyahu to hold a summit, claiming that unless such a summit is held, the outstanding problems regarding Hebron could not be solved.

The Palestinians feel that their relations with Israel are locked in a vicious circle. The peace process has become virtually stalled while the Israeli government is steadily pursuing its goals as the crisis rages on.

Ahmed Qurei, the Chairman of the Palestinian Legislative Council, notes that the US is only required to force Israel to honour its commitments under the peace agreements. Other officials, however, regard the US call on Arafat and Netanyahu to meet as a way to circumvent the current crisis. But there is no certainty that such a meeting would lead to the implementation of the agreement on Hebron, or other matters deferred from the transitional stage, or the determination of a date for the resumption of negotiations for the final settlement.

On Monday evening, meetings began between Saib Uraykat, the Palestinian minister of local government, and Netanyahu's special envoy in the occupied section of Jerusalem. A prominent Palestinian official explained that nothing has been achieved at these meetings. So far, they have dealt solely with the establishment of a mechanism to resume negotiations on Hebron and other outstanding issues.



Uday (left) in a posed photo with father, Saddam and brother, Qusai. Baghdad released this photo on 13 December, following the attempt to assassinate Uday, currently recovering from his injuries (photo: Reuters)

## Who did it?

CONFUSION continues to surround the failed assassination attempt that took place last week against Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's eldest son, Uday, as several organisations are suspected of carrying out the attack. As Iraq resumes its oil exports this week for the first time in six years under the UN food-for-oil plan, an outlawed Iraqi Shiite Muslim party, Al-Da'wa Al-Islamiya, was the first to claim responsibility for the assassination attempt.

The statement, issued Saturday, said that Uday had been targeted to "take revenge for the martyrs of Islam and to remind public opinion of the suffering of our people, victims of Saddam's gang." Al-Da'wa Party is the oldest Shiite Muslim party in the Iraqi opposition. It is part of the Teheran-based Iraqi Joint National Action Committee, an alliance of opposition groups that includes the Kurdistan Iraqi Front, the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution, the Movement of the Iraqi Mujahedin and the Islamic Movement in Iraq. The Shiite opposition is particularly active in southern Iraq, where Saddam's Sunni government has launched regular campaigns of repression against the Shiite population, in re-

taliation for their failed uprisings in 1991, in the aftermath of the Gulf War. This claim of responsibility, however, has not stopped the quest for other suspects. Former Iraqi intelligence Chief Wafiq Samarra said on Monday that he suspected the United Democratic Front of Basra dissidents. Adding to the confusion, a Kuwaiti newspaper reported that a member of the Dulaimi clan claimed that his tribe was responsible for the attack in a bid to avenge the murder of one of its members.

Uday, one of Saddam's most trusted aides, was attacked while driving his car in the wealthy Al-Mansour district of Baghdad. He was rushed to hospital, reportedly only "slightly wounded" but, while opposition groups claim he is seriously wounded, his actual condition remains unclear. He is regarded as a flamboyant and influential figure in Iraq's complex clan politics. He unofficially runs the trade and information ministries and controls a large media network and business empire that includes Iraq's Youth Radio and the Babel newspaper. He has reportedly been the target of at least two other assassination attempts since the Gulf War.

## Clashes threaten funding for Lebanon

Border tensions heat up as Lebanon seeks reconstruction funding, reports Zeina Khodr from Beirut

On the eve of an American-sponsored conference, designed to attract money to fund Lebanon's reconstruction, violence flared in southern Lebanon. The upsurge in fighting between Israeli occupying forces and resistance guerrillas clouds Lebanon's image, at a time when it is important to prove to the international community that the nation has made significant advances toward restoring security and economic stability following 15 years of civil war and is, therefore, entitled to political and financial support.

Last week, for the first time since the April cease-fire understanding was reached, Israel claimed that three Katyusha rockets fired from the village of Qalileh in southern Lebanon slammed into the western Galilee region in northern Israel.

Hizbullah, the group spearheading the resistance guerrilla movement to oust Israeli soldiers from a zone they occupy in South Lebanon, denied launching the rockets. "If we launched the rockets we would have claimed responsibility," said Sheikh Naem Kassem, the deputy secretary-general of Hizbullah, "but the present time is not propitious for such attacks."

Three Palestinian groups in Lebanon who oppose the peace process also denied carrying out the attacks.

The head of Hizbullah's political bureau, Deputy Mohamed Raad, claimed: "The mystery behind the Katyusha rocket attacks shows Israeli intentions. Israel may be using this as an excuse to launch attacks against Lebanon as well as tarnish its image abroad during the Washington conference."

Lebanon hopes to persuade donor nations attending the "Friends of Lebanon" conference in Washington this week to provide loans and grants worth \$5 billion over a five-year period to finance 31 infrastructure and development projects. The conference is part of the April understanding, aimed at helping Lebanon rebuild what was destroyed during Israel's military attack, dubbed "Operation Grapes of Wrath."

The cease-fire, which ended a 17-day Israeli onslaught against Lebanon that killed nearly 200 Lebanese civilians, mainly women and children, banned all attacks on and from civilian areas.

Since the accord was reached, Hizbullah, which often fired Katyusha rockets into northern Israel to retaliate against Is-

raeli bombardment and the wounding of civilians, has refrained from such attacks.

While the origin of last week's rocket attack remains a mystery, Israel called for a meeting of the five-nation cease-fire monitoring group, set up after the April understanding to observe the truce, to look into its complaint that the accord was breached.

Only one day before the reported Katyusha attack, the group accused Israel of injuring six Lebanese guerrillas on December 7, when its forces shelled the villages of Kfar Tibnit and Nabatieh. Al-Fawa, situated just north of Israel's security zone.

After three days of meetings and investigations into the violence, the group — which includes representatives from the US, France, Lebanon, Syria and Israel — criticised the bombardment. The five nations had conducted a field inspection at the scene of the attacks and collected evidence, which contradicted Israeli claims that Hizbullah resistance guerrillas had fired from Kfar Tibnit, provoking the retaliatory fire.

Israel reported that a Sagger missile was launched from Kfar Tibnit and that Israeli troops in the zone fired back in self-defense. Lebanon insisted that Hizbullah

did not violate the terms of the April truce as the agreement does not bar resistance attacks against Israeli occupying forces in Israel's border enclave in the south. Resistance guerrillas detonated a roadside bomb last week that targeted a military patrol in the occupied zone, killing two Israeli soldiers and prompting Israeli shelling.

The monitoring committee also acknowledged that Israel used a flechette shell — an internationally banned weapon that sprays hundreds of darts on impact to maximise casualties — in its attack.

This is the third time in two months that the group questioned Israel's attacks on southern Lebanese villages and the wounding of civilians. Hizbullah, however, was dissatisfied with the outcome of the monitoring group's meeting. According to Hizbullah Deputy Mohammad Fneish, meetings are not sufficient. "Israeli violations of the April truce should stop. Lebanese civilians should be protected," he said. "The committee's statements do not compensate for Israeli aggressions against Lebanese civilians."

The group faces problems because decisions must be agreed upon unanimously. "The group cannot condemn Israel's violations of the April understanding because

its decisions must receive unanimous backing from all five members, and that includes Israel," Jean Michel Gausso, France's representative and the group's current chairman said earlier this month. "This is the reason we cannot do what Lebanon wants, which is to condemn Israel for breaching the agreement."

Clearly backing Lebanon, Gausso further explained that the security situation in the south will not improve as long as Israeli occupation continues. "Israel's occupation of Lebanese land provokes resistance attacks, which is a natural response. The committee's task is not to halt these resistance operations. We are here to protect civilians, particularly the southerners who have suffered a lot."

The latest violence coincides with an increase in the number of militiamen defecting to Lebanon from Israel's proxy militia. Earlier this month, two brothers, Majed and Suleiman Hameyed, escaped from Israel's occupation zone and defected to Hizbullah.

According to Attallah Ibrahim, a Hizbullah official, four Israeli-allied militiamen have defected to Hizbullah during the past three months. "They are being encouraged by those who have already de-

fected. We are continuously broadcasting messages to these recruits, who are disillusioned and unaware of their future. We are warning them that Israel will not assist them after a peace treaty is reached," he said at a press conference.

In fact, both brothers told reporters that they made their decision to escape after Ali Ghasseini's defection to Hizbullah last November. "We were living in hell and now we are in heaven," said 23-year-old Majed. Majed and his brother Suleiman were forced to serve in the militia. "Israeli forces do not trust the members of their militia. They are always suspicious of us. We were never even allowed to be near an Israeli soldier," he said.

Israel's air raids on suspected guerrilla targets in the western Bekaa Valley over the weekend and the continuous clashes in the occupied zone are not positive signs for Lebanon. The government here has been working hard to convince the world of Lebanon's stability and encourage outsiders to invest and provide the needed money to continue necessary reconstruction.

The deteriorating security situation indicates that stability will not prevail unless Israeli forces withdraw from the south in compliance with UN Resolution 425.

## Stalled referendum

As the Western Sahara referendum remains stalled for the fifth year running, the tide is turning in favour of Morocco, reports Samia Nkrumah

Over the past few weeks, there have been indications of improved ties between Morocco and Algeria. It is hardly a matter of coincidence that such signs are emerging at a time when tensions are dropping between the two neighbours over Algeria's support of the Polisario Front in its 20-year-long dispute with Morocco over the Western Sahara.

Significantly, the impact of the Western Sahara dispute is most felt in the relations between the member states of the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) comprised of Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia. One of the most promising sub-regional economic groupings in the Arab world when it was created in 1989, the AMU had its activities curtailed mainly by disputes between its two core members, Morocco and Algeria. Just over a year ago, when Algeria took over the presidency of the AMU, Morocco requested that the union's activities be frozen.

Even after diplomatic relations were restored between the two neighbours in 1988, relations remained strained. Each country accused the other of supporting its political opponents and interfering in the other's internal affairs. Morocco blamed Algeria for adopting a conflicting stance to its own on the Western Sahara at the UN and Algeria accused Morocco of failing to rein in the Algerian Islamic militants who take refuge in Morocco.

Hassan Abdel Khalek, a Moroccan specialist in Maghreb affairs with *Al-Abram*, a newspaper affiliated to the opposition Istiqlal Party, commented on the recent improvement in Algerian-Moroccan relations. He says that the thaw first became apparent when King Has-

san II and President Liamine Zerrouk exchanged messages of congratulations on the occasion of their respective independence anniversaries earlier in the year. Also, last month, Moroccan and Algerian energy ministers met in Rabat with other AMU ministers to inaugurate the organisation's gas pipeline project running from Algeria to Europe via Morocco.

Besides prospects of a revived AMU in the coming year, there also have been recent high-level bilateral contacts between Morocco and Algeria. The interior ministers of both countries met in Rabat earlier this month to discuss bilateral relations and security issues. Reliable sources say that this may be a prelude to an Algerian-Moroccan summit. There is also speculation that efforts are being made to persuade Morocco to attend an AMU summit in Algeria at a yet to be confirmed date before Algeria relinquishes the AMU rotating presidency at the end of the year.

This rapprochement comes at a time when domestic concerns have diverted Algeria's attention from the issue of the Western Sahara. The Algerian regime's preoccupation with constitutional changes in its ongoing attempts to overcome Islamic militants is chipping away at the country's commitment to the Polisario and its self-proclaimed Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR).

Improved ties between Morocco and Algeria reflect just one of the developments on the ground that bode ill for Polisario. The last five years have seen major changes in the fortunes of the main protagonists in the dispute over the 270,000 sq km of desert land bordering

Morocco, Algeria and Mauritania.

Morocco already controls two-thirds of the disputed territory since its successful Green March saw 350,000 Moroccans advance into the Western Sahara in 1975. Since then, Morocco has invested heavily into the territory under its control. This autumn, the Moroccan government announced an investment package of around \$23 million in the Western Sahara provinces to provide thousands of Sahrawi university graduates with funds to start small and medium size businesses.

Even Polisario admits the changes. "New roads, ports and buildings were constructed and social services provided to the inhabitants of the camps in the Moroccan-controlled areas," says Al-Salit D'ebi Youssouf, ambassador of SADR in Algeria. He nonetheless maintains that "a major population transfer took place by force" over the years to consolidate Morocco's claim over the territory.

The contested territory administered by Polisario comprises mostly camps in the southeast of Algeria where tens of thousands of refugees continue to battle harsh weather and living conditions. According to Polisario officials, around 160,000 inhabitants are dependent on humanitarian assistance from the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the European Union and Algeria.

Little wonder that there have been a number of Polisario defections over the years. According to Hassan Abdel Khalek, "around 8,000 Sahrawis returned to Morocco since the late eighties, including Polisario's Foreign Minister Ibrahim Al-Hakim and other prominent figures in the movement."

In his speech on 6 November this year to commemorate the anniversary of the Moroccan-led Green March, King Hassan II reiterated Morocco's claim to the Western Sahara. The monarch pointed out that it was Polisario who had requested the Rabat meeting held last September between Moroccan Crown Prince Sidi Ahmed, Moroccan Interior Minister Idriss Al-Bassari and Polisario representatives. However, Morocco made the meeting conditional on the exclusion of the issues of "separation or independence" from the talks.

The Moroccan political opposition is as strongly opposed to the Sahara's separation as the government. Abdel Khalek said, "We only recognise the UN referendum as a means to settle the matter. Morocco does not regard Polisario as a conflicting party but as fellow Moroccans who have lost their way and we try to convince them to return."

Unsurprisingly, the two-day talks did not address the obstacles hindering the identification process of the voters who will participate in the referendum. Till today the referendum to which Morocco and Polisario agreed under the 1991 UN settlement plan to determine if Sahrawis will be integrated into Morocco, remains a distant possibility. Differences between Morocco and the Polisario over who constitutes an eligible voter finally led the UN, which was already constrained by lack of funds, to suspend altogether the voter identification process last May.

Polisario considers the 1974 census, taken before Spain withdrew from the territory and the Green March, as the true reflection of eligibility. However, the UN expanded the criteria for eligibility to include people whose fathers were born in the disputed territory and others with Sahrawi family ties. This coincided with Morocco's position because it ensures that Sahrawis living outside the territory at the time of the Spanish census will be included.

Consequently, so far, Polisario has submitted only 60,000 applications, while Morocco has submitted over 150,000. As expected, Polisario, which charges that Morocco included applicants with questionable ties to the disputed territory, has raised objections about the fairness of the identification process. If a referendum is carried out today based on the total number of applicants submitted by Morocco and the Polisario, the outcome would favour integration of the disputed territory into Morocco.

Meanwhile, Polisario's support is dwindling. In the post-Cold War era it lost the backing of Eastern Europe and earlier that of Libya in 1984, and now it is uncertain how long the movement can depend on Algeria for support.

In contrast, Moroccan diplomatic activity appears to have paid off. A growing number of African states have edged closer to the Moroccan position, including South Africa, which refrained from recognising SADR, and Burkina Faso, which was formerly a Polisario stronghold. This is a far cry from 1984, when Morocco withdrew from the Organisation of African Unity in protest over SADR's admission to the African organisation.

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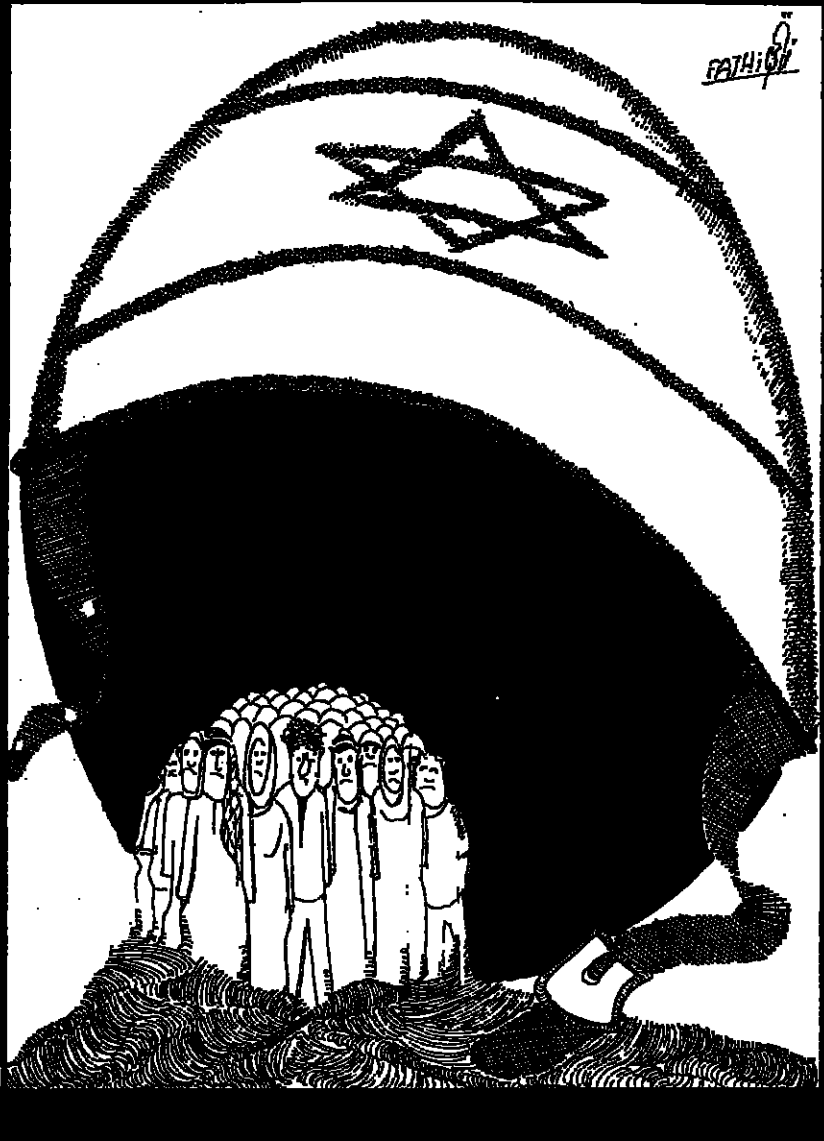
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# A Zionist nightmare

Israel's founding myths are crumbling, writes **Abdel-Wahab El-Messiri** in the first part of a study of contemporary Israeli society as reflected in the collective Israeli imagination, published by *Al-Ahram Weekly* in two instalments. The dreams of Zionist pioneers and a land without people ring increasingly hollow, and the truth, dawning brutally, is eating away at the core of the Israeli fortress



In spite of the perpetual refrain of Israel's crushing victories, its astounding economic progress and its growing military prowess, the Israeli people have a profound sense of what the Israeli historian Jacob Talmon has called "the impotence of victory." Israel's victories have not led to the "normalisation" of the Zionist state, still a heavily armed fortress engaged in psychological warfare with all its neighbours and in an actual state of war with some of them. It persists in its complete denial of the Palestinian people and remains humiliatingly dependent on the US. While the gloss of Zionist propaganda portrays the optimistic and heroic Sabra, the Israeli imagination tells another story altogether. It tells of an awareness of the historical dilemma in which Zionism has landed the Zionist settlers. This historic and multi-faceted dilemma expresses itself tragically at times and comically at others, when the sense of calamity vents itself in humour.

Perhaps the first problem the Israelis have come to realise fully is that Palestine is not "a land without people", as Zionist propaganda used to proclaim, and that the Palestinians are not merely Arabs, but a specific entity within the Arab national cultural formation. This reality sweeps the rug out from under the legitimacy of the very Zionist presence, regardless of how great Israel's victories have been and how blaring its propaganda. Even if the PLO has amended its charter in order to reassure the settlers that it does not aim to destroy the Zionist state, this does nothing to alter the existing human, material and cultural facts. The Palestinians are there, knocking on the doors, at times peacefully but with suppressed fury and, at others, with stones and even gun-fire, as a constant reminder to the Israelis that their Zionist entity resides on a historical fallacy.

As a result, the Israelis, as Amos Elon says, "are no longer able to reiterate the glib arguments and facile half-truths of the former generation" (with regard to Palestine as a land without people). The Israeli poet Elie Elon has said: "The historical resurrection of the Jewish people, and anything of value to the Israeli people no matter how beautiful, is founded upon the oppression of another nation. The young people of Israel will have to go to war and die for the sake of something that owes its existence to the perpetration of injustice. This doubt, and this doubt alone, makes a very difficult basis for life."

The story "Confronting the Forest" by Israeli novelist Abraham B. Yehoshua has been described by some critics as destructive and suicidal. It relates incidents in the life of a student who is working on a research paper on the Crusades (another historical experience in futility that haunts the Israeli mind: the Crusader state failed utterly in securing its long term existence). The student was appointed to guard a forest that had been planted by the Jewish National Fund (JNF) on the site of one of the many Arab villages razed by the Zionist settlers. Each tree in the forest carried a plaque with the name of one of the many diaspora Jews abroad from whom the JNF collected donations for the settlement of Israel. The protagonist's cherished solitude is interrupted when he comes across an old, mute Arab man tending the forest. A love-hate relationship develops between the student and the Arab. The Israeli fears that the Arab, a former resident of the village, wants to avenge himself. At the same time, he finds himself oddly drawn to him. In fact, the young guard, who was appointed by the JNF to protect the forest, discovers that he is unconsciously trying to help the old man set fire to the forest. In the end, when the Arab succeeds in setting the entire forest on fire, the protagonist finds release from all his suppressed emotions.

Fire appears in a completely different context in the poem by Ephraim Sidor (which Israeli television refused to broadcast). The events of the poem take place in a living room in which four individuals are sitting: the father, the mother, the child and a Zionist soldier — i.e. the nucleus of an

armed settlement. A fire breaks out outside (symbolising the Intifada) and smoke begins to enter the house through the window. But the four remain transfixed before a television set, oblivious to everything. Then they start singing:

"We are all sitting here in our little quiet house, sitting in comfort and cheer. It is best that we do, really best that we do."

The mother: "I'd say our general situation is good."

The soldier: "Or, in brief, positive". The father: "Time is working in our favour."

The child: "If time is working, it must be an Arab."

At this point, the father slaps the child and shouts, "Shut up, you insolent child!" The play on words here is a humorous reference to a bitter fact of which Israelis are fully aware: the ubiquity of Arab labour within the Zionist entity.

After this incident, the family begins to talk about the fire — or, rather, to deny its existence.

The father: "If there were a spark here that burst into flame..."

The mother: "My child would get up and put out the fire."

The father: "And if small flames burst out here and there..."

The mother: "My son would hasten to put them out with his truncheon."

The father: "Get up, my son, and hit them a bit."

The father then addresses the fire. He tells it that it is a poor little thing, that it will not affect him in the slightest, that he will put it out in the end. When the fire begins to eat away at the father's foot, the mother remains unmoved. There is nothing to worry about, because there is an "artificial foot" to replace it (perhaps imported from the US) and time, as the father says, "is working on our side." But once again the child reveals the bitter truth:

The child: "Papa, Papa! we've been burnt up by time!"

The father: "Shut up!"

The mother: "Whoever looks around us and sees, knows that your father can only speak the truth, as usual."

The father and mother: "We have shown the fire once and for all who is the man here, who's in charge."

The child: "But Papa! The house..."

The father: "Forget these illusions, don't bother us with facts."

The child and the soldier: "My slogan: 'Sit quietly, don't get worked up...'"

The men: "Don't move, don't budge, don't lose your nerve."

Everyone: "That is how you fight fire."

The black humour in this poem betrays a pessimistic vision of the Zionist settlements which have rooted themselves in place ("a land without people") and denied (Arab) time. They are doomed to be consumed by the truth while the inhabitants sit quietly in the comfort of their homes, watching a television serial or listening to Zionist propaganda in complete contentment.

The Arab presence is constantly present, everywhere in the Israeli economy. The child's blackly humorous remark, "If time is 'working' then it must be an Arab" shows the consternation the issue of Arab labour arouses in the Israeli conscience. In another joke we find an old Israeli man sitting with his grandson, telling him about his memories of the past. They are leafing through a photo album. The grandfather points to a picture of himself taken in the thirties, showing him building his own house by himself. The child is startled and asks, "Were you an Arab then?" The child's reaction is natural: a deduction based not on Zionist propaganda, but on what he sees around him every day: to wit, that only Arabs work as construction labourers. Also, with regard to the importance of Arab labour in agriculture, the Israeli remark sarcastically, "Why does the PLO keep asking for the land back with such persistence? Haven't they noticed

that the Palestinians already got it back?" This joke is a reference to the old Zionist adage that the land belongs to those who cultivate it.

These jokes are also based on another subtext: the Israelis' knowledge that the Arabs engage in productive activities, while the Zionist settlers have turned into agents, brokers and other parasitic middlemen, or have become engaged in academic professions. This (in the Zionist conception) makes the situation of the Jews in Israel today no different than their days in the ghetto. Zionism had claimed that this warped situation was purely a product of exile in the diaspora and that once a Zionist state was created, the Jews could return to farming the land, save it (from the Arabs) and free themselves of the malignancies of exile that had given anti-Semitism the pretext for the accusations they hurled against the Jews and Judaism.

The so-called "Hebrew labour" creed has developed into a "Hebrew labour complex" after this aspect of Zionism fell short of the vision. The Jews in Israel are back in the money market, in stock market speculation and in foreign exchange. In addition, increasing numbers are engaged in the academic professions and the rate of consumption in Israel keeps rising.

The Israelis use the Hebrew phrase "rosh katan" (literally: little head) to refer to the consumerist Israeli settler who thinks only of his personal interests and pleasures and is completely oblivious to any obligation he might have to the nation. In other words, the settler has a little head resting on top of a large pot-belly. A materialist, a consumer, a hedonist, for him there is no question of deferring until tomorrow the gratification that can be had today. It is behaviour fostered by a domestic policy to which the Israelis refer as TVC: supplying the public with its requirements of televisions, videos and cars. According to the Zionist dream, on the other hand, Israel was to be a ("high-voltage") light to nations; it has become, as one Israeli journal-

ist put it, the three-V society: Volvos, videos and villas. Another Israeli journalist has drawn on national stereotypes to conclude that Israelis work like Latin Americans (which is to say they do not work), live like North Americans (a very high standard of living), pay taxes like the Italians (i.e. dodge them) and drive like Egyptians (maniacally).

The rabid consumerism of Israeli society manifests itself in the rush to acquire American-made products and the desire to emigrate to the US, the real promised land. An article entitled "The Exodus of Zion" is rich with irony given the weighty biblical and cultural references of the title (the exodus from Egypt and the quest for Mount Zion in Eretz Israel). The author, writing in 1978, predicted that the number of emigrants leaving Israel would swell to 800,000 12 years later (it was reported to have reached a million by 1996). The writer of the article then commented: "If we take into consideration that the UN recognised the right of the Jews to a nation of their own when there were only 600,000 settlers in the country, we will be able to comprehend the significance of this lamentable information."

The West Bank settlers are not spared the sting of Israeli jokes referring to spongers and opportunists. "Deluxe settlements" is how an Israeli military commentator described the West Bank homes of the settlers. These are not idealists and fighters; they check out the size of the swimming pool and measure the rooms in their prospective villa before deciding to move out to a settlement. Israeli newspapers have described the settlements as "a tap that can never be turned off" and have coined the term "settlement professionals" to refer to those who take up residence in the West Bank settlements in anticipation of the withdrawal of Israeli forces and the appropriate compensation that will accrue to them (as occurred in Yamit in the Sinai). Israelis also speak of "shuttle settlers" to describe those who have purchased homes

in the West Bank settlements because of the low prices but who commute to their offices everyday, located on the other side of the Green Line.

It is every people's right to consume to their heart's content as long as they earn this right through productive labour. In Israel, however, the people know that the "independent" Zionist state can neither provide for its own survival nor afford to maintain its high standard of living without the continued economic, political and military support it gets from the US in exchange for defending American interests in the region. The utilitarianism of the Zionist state, a result of the function ascribed to it, is such that it was described by one Israeli journalist as "a guard dog with its head in Washington and tail in Jerusalem." The depiction is particularly apt, to the point and scathing.

When it was proposed to link the shekel to the dollar (a plan that was rejected in theory if implemented in practice), Knesset member Geula Cohen countered that they should also put the picture of Abraham Lincoln on the Israeli currency, side by side with the pictures of Israel's leaders and the Star of David, and begin teaching US instead of Jewish history to Jewish school children. The *Jerusalem Post* also featured the following imaginary dialogue between the Israeli Finance Minister and a second person:

The Minister: "The first step is to reduce the budget. The second step is to destroy the shekel and use the dollar."

The other person: "What's the third step?"

The Minister: "Why, it couldn't be more obvious. We move to Brooklyn."

In one of the letters to the editor of the *Jerusalem Post* (January 1985), a reader commented on the parasitic nature of the Israeli personality and the excessive dependency of the Zionist state on the US. Referring to Israel's request of a \$5 billion loan from the US, the writer makes the following suggestion:

"Instead of transferring the money to the Israeli treasury which will squander it away in supporting unviable and therefore potentially bankrupt industries, in compensating unlucky stock market speculators, in disbursing large sums of money to avaricious bankers so that Israelis can continue to enjoy the style of life they have grown accustomed to and in paying the enormous tax expenses of our insolent government bureaucrats, I beg you to permit me to perform the service of making the following proposal:

"There are at present 4,235,000 Israeli inhabitants consisting of 1,160,000 families with a gross income of \$6,120 per family. If the US government were to send a check to every family for this amount for the year 1985, we would gain the following advantages: We would spare the American tax-payer \$385,520,000 while the whole population of Israel would be able to stay in bed, play golf or backgammon, or go fishing every day throughout the year. We would also get rid of the bureaucrats who would also benefit, since getting paid for not working comes very naturally to them. It will also solve our industrial deficit. In addition, El Al, which loses a lot because it does not fly on Saturdays, will have nothing to lose if it stops flying altogether. We will also be able to lengthen the period of military service (at no extra cost) in order to give people something to do. Indeed the millennium will have come when the 'leopard (since he will have nothing better to do) shall lie down with the kid.' We will then follow in the steps of the Finance Minister on the road to dollarisation and we will see the fulfilment of the prophecy, 'And a little child shall lead them.' (Isaiah 11:6)"

In the wake of the Jonathan Pollard incident and Israel's acquiescence when the US objected to the promotion of some of the Israeli army officers involved in the incident, an Israeli journalist suggested that the Israeli government should take revenge by appointing Pollard himself as Israel's ambassador to the US — the implication being the suicide of the Zionist state.

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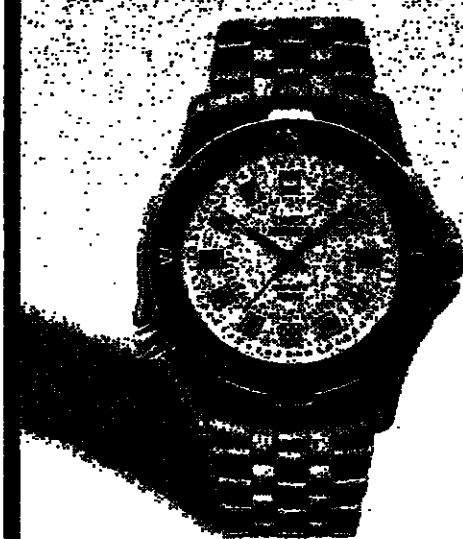
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White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta and unidentified secret service agents rush to help William Daley, who fainted moments after US President Bill Clinton announced that he would be the nominee for commerce secretary (photo: AFP)

## AIPAC under investigation

The US Court of Appeals ruling that contributions by the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee to American candidates should not be exempt from taxes is a blow to the pro-Israeli lobby. **Lamis Andoni** reports from Washington

"The decision is the beginning of the end of the stranglehold that the Israeli lobby has had on US Middle East policy," said Richard Curtius, a former chief inspector of the United States Information Service (USIS). He is one of seven former American officials and diplomats who filed the legal complaint against the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) in 1989. However, it will not be until the American Federal Elections Commission (FEC) officially demands that AIPAC disclose its funding sources that the court ruling will have any real impact. In the past, the FEC has ruled that AIPAC need not register as "a political committee" nor to disclose its financial records as other lobbying groups have to do.

Political observers in Washington believe that AIPAC, which is the strongest foreign policy lobby in the US, will resist the court decision and that the FEC might choose to appeal the ruling. The ruling is also expected to trigger a fierce battle between AIPAC and other lobbies, especially Arab-American organisations who have been struggling to end what they see as the pro-Israeli lobby dominance of US Middle East policy. "It is mind-boggling that AIPAC has been able to get away with violating the law for this long. We are extremely happy with the court decision," said Dr Hala Maksoud, president of the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). The organisation mobilised the campaign to expose AIPAC's "elections viola-

tions."

If enforced, the ruling could strip AIPAC of one of its most potent tools in wielding a political influence unmatched by any other foreign policy lobbying group in Washington. By avoiding the disclosure of its financial records, AIPAC is believed to have been able to violate the \$10,000 limit that restricts the donations lobbying groups can make to candidates in each election cycle. Consequently, critics of AIPAC believe that the lobbying group has been able to channel huge amounts of donations to specific candidates running for public office to secure their support for Israel.

More significantly, the enforcement of the court decision would compel AIPAC to disclose its source of funding which many, including some of the plaintiffs, believe is the Israeli government. The plaintiffs hope that the ruling will expose AIPAC's connection with Israel to the American public. In an article to be published in the next issue of the Washington Report on the Middle East, Richard Curtius wrote: "They [the plaintiffs] believe that AIPAC has functioned as a foreign agent, openly pursuing the interests of each successive elected government of Israel but without registering as such and thus subjecting itself to federal disclosure laws."

In addition to Mr Curtius, the plaintiffs include: former ambassador to Saudi Arabia, James Aikins; the late George Ball, undersecretary of state in the Kennedy administration

and former ambassador to the United Nations: Paul Findley, an Illinois Republican congressman for 22 years (who exposed AIPAC in his book *Who Dares to Speak?*); Rear-Admiral Robert Hanks, former commander of the US Navy's Middle East Task Force; Andrew Kilgore, former ambassador to Qatar and Orin Parker, former president of AMIDEAST, a non-profit organisation that conducts educational training in the Middle East.

The suit is the brainchild of the prominent Arab American civil lawyer Abdeen Jabara who eventually came to represent the plaintiffs. Jabara monitored and collected evidence on the violations of election laws committed by AIPAC. According to Dr Maksoud, the 1988 presidential elections, when Arab Americans were just starting to get involved in lobbying activities, signalled the alarm bell about AIPAC's modus operandi. As ADC president, Jabara experienced first hand how his group, as well as others, were overpowered by AIPAC's disproportionate political influence.

Jabara then contacted American public figures who have been privately or publicly expressing discontent about AIPAC's political clout. "Many officials and former officials resented AIPAC's activities but few dared to speak out," Mr Curtius told *Al-Ahram Weekly* in a telephone interview. Finally, seven of them decided to file to the FEC against AIPAC. They used a 1986 memorandum by AIPAC to its members that re-

veals that the organisation had set up 27 political action committees and directed their donations to specific candidates.

The first complaint demanded that the FEC deal with AIPAC as a political action committee. But in December 1990, the 27 committees were notified that they were not under investigation a move interpreted as a dismissal of the complaint against AIPAC. The plaintiffs then went to court and filed a suit against the FEC itself to demand that the FEC rule on the original complaint. It was only then that the FEC published some of its findings. It acknowledged that AIPAC had made in-kind donations that violated the \$10,000 limit. Nevertheless, the FEC ruled against altering AIPAC's status by stating that the pro-Israeli group did not need to register as a political action committee since the contributions "were not the major purpose of AIPAC."

Refusing to give up, the plaintiffs challenged the FEC ruling in a circuit court of appeals, which, in an unprecedented decision, ruled that AIPAC is and should be treated as a political action committee and therefore should reveal its financial records. According to Curtius, a constant campaign of sending letters to the FEC and legislators should follow to compel the FEC to enforce the court ruling. So far, there has been no public reaction by AIPAC or any of its affiliated organisations. In Mr Curtius' view, clipping AIPAC's wings will change American Middle Eastern policy forever.

## Why the fatalistic cynicism? James Zogby writes on the Middle East peace process and a Clinton second term

United States President Bill Clinton's announcement of the national security team that will guide his second term in office is certain to rekindle discussion in the Middle East as to precisely what a second Clinton term will mean for the region. Undoubtedly this renewed wave of speculation will focus on the personalities of the new team, while ignoring the fact that this team is virtually identical to the group that served the president during his first four years.

The most important factors that will ultimately shape US policy in the second term are the personality of the president (and not the personalities of his cabinet), domestic and international political realities and US national interests. In fact, many of the Arab and Israeli analysts who speculated about the direction of Clinton's second term in the weeks immediately following his re-election seemed to understand this, although their analyses were often overly deterministic and simplistic.

There were also, of course, some naively optimistic notions about how a re-elected president is freed from political pressures and can, therefore, make dramatic changes in policy. But that of course is just fantasy, since Clinton lives in a world where he must continue to face a Congress and powerful interest groups which will exercise significant influence in shaping and limiting future policy options. But this observation should not lead one back to the simplistic conclusion shared by the majority of Arab and Israeli analysts that politics and interests will combine to produce no change in a Clinton second term. I say this because the personality of the president is an important determinant in shaping policy and the two factors of political reality and national interests are themselves not static constants unaffected by external events.

The end of the Cold War and the conclusion of the Gulf War, for example, resulted in a realisation by the US that the promotion of a comprehensive peace in the Middle East was essential to secure US national interests in the broader region. The architects of Madrid stipulated that continued political division resulting from the Arab-Israeli conflict was unacceptable and would only lead to instability which would continue to complicate US relations in the Middle East. To achieve this necessary comprehensive peace it was determined that two conditions were essential: Is-

raeli security had to be guaranteed and the legitimate rights of the Palestinians had to be recognised.

This expanded definition of US interests has been accepted by Clinton. In a number of policy statements since assuming office, Clinton has emphasised both US interest in the completion of the peace process and the necessity that the process be comprehensive and balanced. At a White House news conference earlier this year the president noted, "Our challenge is to now broaden the circle of peace, recognising the principles that underlie the peace process, territory for peace, realisation of the legitimate right of the Palestinian people, security for all parties, and full real peace."

And so while it is true that national interests will play a role in shaping the Middle East policy of the second term, the "national interests" will not be defined as narrowly as they are by some Israeli analysts, nor will they be defined as negatively or crassly as is the penchant of some Arab analysts: promoting Israeli hegemony or maintain Arab division. In fact, there is a growing appreciation in the US today that a collapse of the peace process will fuel extremist tendencies throughout the Middle East, which will have a long-term destabilising effect on US interests and US allies in the region. This is a broader definition of US security interests than existed previously and is a driving force behind the US commitment to the achievement of a comprehensive Middle East peace.

Domestic political factors that will shape Clinton's second term have also undergone some changes as a result of the peace process. For example, there is today an ongoing debate within the Jewish community over the policies being pursued by Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's government. Most American Jews and some major Jewish organisations were exhilarated by the peace process and heavily invested in its success. While there is a strong tradition of Jewish organisations not publicly criticising Israeli government positions to which they are opposed, that has changed somewhat in recent years. Ironically, it was the supporters of Likud who established the precedent of public criticism with their denunciation of the former Labour prime ministers, Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres.

If Netanyahu is perceived as unwilling to move peace forward or should a crisis develop that is perceived to be the result of Israeli prov-

ocation or intransigence, his government may not receive the support of all sectors of the US Jewish community. Throughout its first term, the Clinton administration sought to provide support for the peace process mainly by providing Israel with incentives to encourage risk taking. Arabs were urged to demonstrate confidence-building gestures to show Israelis the benefits that peace would bring.

So extensive was the US effort to win Israeli public support for peace that many Arab critics began to see the peace process as essentially an Israeli-centred effort. Despite being shored up by US incentives and Arab confidence-building gestures, Labour was inhibited from moving peace forward due to its fear of Likud's extremist religious and nationalist supporters. During that period, the US goal was to strengthen Labour and convince the majority of Israelis to support the peace agreements. Notwithstanding these US efforts, including politically induced silence in the face of Israel's massive assault on Lebanon, the Labour government that made peace lost its bid for re-election and was replaced by a Likud leadership that has not yet made a strategic decision to accept and implement the principles of a comprehensive peace.

With Likud in office, US policy has already undergone a subtle but significant transformation. While still resisting the use of public negative pressure to force changes in Israeli policy, the administration has repeatedly stated its insistence that the new Israeli government honour agreements it has signed with the Palestinians. And in response to the violence that erupted in the wake of Israel's opening of the tunnel in Jerusalem, even a casual Israeli observer could have noted the difference between the US reaction to Netanyahu and the attitude taken towards his Labour predecessor.

The current US approach to the peace process seems to be focused on producing modifications in the existing order: within Israel, in the Israeli-Palestinian relationship, and in the daily lives of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. The administration appears to believe that once it signs an agreement with the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), Likud will have taken an irreversible step toward engagement in the peace process. Arab critics fearful of Likud's intentions dispute this notion and the Palestinian leadership still refuses, for reasons of principle and politics, to

sign a Hebron agreement which they hold to be deficient. Palestinians do not want to see a Hebron agreement detached from an Israeli commitment to full compliance with the rest of the peace accords — and in this regard they appear to have some US support.

What the administration seems to be focused on is the effect they believe a Hebron agreement will produce within the Likud coalition, since some of the coalition's more extremist members have indicated that they might resign should a Hebron deal be signed. This US effort thus appears to be directed at creating the precedent of the first signed Likud-PNA agreement, which it hopes will produce both a psychological change within the coalition and possibly a change in the coalition itself.

Additionally, the administration is engaged on a number of levels in working to improve the economic life of the West Bank and Gaza, specifically by pressing Israel to remove impediments it has established that stunt Palestinian economic development.

It is important to note that one of the major proponents of this policy is Under-Secretary of Commerce Stuart Eizenstadt. Eizenstadt was an official in the Carter White House and a leader in the US Jewish community. A speech he recently delivered calling on Israel to remove obstacles to Palestinian commerce has generated some serious debate within Israel and the US Jewish community. All of these changes already begun during the Clinton first term can be expected to continue during the second term. Having noted that there will be this continuity from the first to the second term does not diminish one important role that the second term will play in shaping Clinton's foreign policy. This will be his last term in public office, a fact that weighs heavily on Clinton.

It is clear even from his first term that Clinton is personally heavily interested in the search for Middle East peace. He has grown considerably in his understanding and appreciation of the issues facing the people of the region and he has developed a personal rapport with both Arab and Israeli leadership. He is aware of the consequences for US national security interests should the process fail and he is equally mindful of his leadership role and the legacy he is creating.

By having noted that the changing definition of US national interests, the debate within the US Jewish community and the personal role of Clin-

ton will all contribute to shaping US policy in the second Clinton term, the Arab world will certainly not be mere passive observers during the next four years. The firm resolve of this year's Cairo Arab Summit to commit the Arab consensus to peace while at the same time insisting that peace with Israel be based on the principles of reciprocity, and the firm position of the Palestinian leadership that the Israeli government fully implement the peace accords will play an important role in shaping US policy in the next period. This Arab pressure will provide needed balance to the peace equation.

For our part, Arab Americans will continue to engage both the administration and the Jewish community in our efforts to advance the peace process. We will continue to work with the administration to explore solutions to problems that impede realisation of Palestinian rights and we will provide ideas we feel will help move the process forward. In part, we will press that there be no further delay in bringing economic benefits of peace to the West Bank and Gaza. For three years the situation of Palestinians has deteriorated and their condition today should become a policy priority. At the same time we will continue to push the administration to bring new energy and activism to the peace process, to restate the vision of a comprehensive peace and to lay out an aggressive programme for its implementation. In fact, this active involvement of Arab Americans in US politics is itself one of the hopeful changes that has developed in recent years and has already, in albeit a limited manner, produced some change in the US policy debate.

It is incorrect, therefore, to view a Clinton second term with either passive optimism or fatalistic cynicism. Changing definitions of US national security interests and changing political realities both in the US and the Middle East have created both imperatives and opportunities for those who support a comprehensive Middle East peace. Work must be done by those who seek to avoid the catastrophe that would result from a collapse of the peace process. This is a view shared by Clinton. Despite current difficulties, he remains committed for reasons of both national security and history to the successful completion of an Arab-Israeli peace.

The writer is the president of the Washington-based Arab American Institute.

## US poised for global governance

Jooneed Khan reflects on Bill Clinton's grand design for the South

With one month to go before his re-inauguration, Bill Clinton is still putting together his new cabinet. But his administration, proceeding smoothly into its second term, is resolutely poising the United States for global governance, if not dominance. The implications for the South are ominous as we near the end of the millennium.

Clinton's decision to remove Boutros Ghali from the post of United Nations secretary-general was trumpeted well before the November elections. Some speculated it was just a campaign ploy to deflect Republican criticism of his own perceived deference to multilateralism in hot spots such as Haiti and Bosnia. The lone US veto blocking a second term for the outgoing secretary-general and US support for Kofi Annan against the lone French veto indicate that Clinton has other, grander designs: to mould the UN into an arm of the US government, with Madeleine Albright, the outgoing US ambassador to the UN, as secretary of state — well in time for the world summit on global governance scheduled for 1998.

In a parallel move at the recent World Trade Organisation (WTO) meeting in Singapore, the US, in this case supported by France and the Europeans, pushed doggedly for the so-called "social clause" to be included in the final declaration and for a "task force" to be set up to look into issues such as child and forced labour and workers' rights. US trade representative Charlene Barshefsky ultimately failed to overcome the united opposition of such diverse economies as India, Hong Kong, Cuba and Tanzania, but she has been asked to stay in her post for Clinton's second term.

The so-called least developed countries (LDCs) made it to Singapore courtesy of the rich countries who paid the travel and hotel expenses of their government and media delegations. Most of the LDCs don't even have a representative at WTO headquarters in Geneva, while battalions of negotiators advance the interests of the Group of Seven richest nations. The world trade share of the 48 LDCs amounts to less than 0.5 per cent, according to Christian Aid, and they could hardly hope to be heard, in spite of the rule of consensus at WTO meetings, when the main concern of the 30 or so countries of the rich trading blocs was to free the \$600 billion information technology market of tariff barriers.

But the emerging economies of the South, from Asia particularly, put up a brave fight against the US-led campaign of the North for the "social clause", which they saw as an attack against their one major asset in the global economy — competitive labour costs — and as an excuse for the rich countries to re-erect protectionist barriers against them. Rafidah Aziz, the Malaysian trade minister, openly rejected any attempt to link social issues to trade, pointing out that labour issues were properly the concern of the International Labour Organisation. She accused the US, without naming it, of "threatening the efforts of 40 years to strengthen the multilateral trading system by its extrajudicial laws" — citing the Helms-Burton law against Cuba and the D'Amato law against Iran and Libya.

On the political-diplomatic front meanwhile, apparent US apathy towards the massive humanitarian (and political) crisis in the African Great Lakes region, as indeed towards the ailing peace process in the Middle East, the Bosnian stalemate or the Taliban folly in Afghanistan, points to Clinton's preference for intervention by remote-control macro-management. Building on the heritage of former US presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush, he has locked these crises within specific "frameworks", each with its own dynamics, and with the US, sole superpower of the post-Cold War era and supreme commander of NATO, as the ultimate, indispensable arbiter — with the UN if possible, without the UN if necessary.

At the WTO meeting in Singapore, Barshefsky spoke eloquently of "the values and concerns common to all workers throughout the world," adding with a flourish that "trade unions worldwide and the United States are engaged in the same struggle". The state and corporate assault against trade unions in the US since Ronald Reagan fired striking air-traffic controllers in the 1980s speaks otherwise. And the stance of the Clinton administration in these regional crises belie Washington's commitment to "common values and concerns".

In the African Great Lakes region, for example, the single most disruptive element was the failure of the US, and the UN, to condemn the armed invasion of Rwanda by the Tutsi-dominated Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) from Uganda in October 1990. After taking over from Bush in 1993, Clinton pursued the same policy of support for the minority-led RPF — which had massacred the minority Tutsi elite in neighbouring Burundi to assassinate Melchior Ndadaye, the country's first democratically elected (ethnic Hutu) president in 1993, and ultimately to overthrow the constitutional government. This same US policy led to the large-scale massacres of 1994 in Rwanda, during the final phase of the RPF-imposed civil war. Behind the genocide of the Tutsi by the machete-wielding militias of former President Sylvestre Ntaryamira regime's lies the very real "country-side" of Rwanda at the hands of US policy.

In a free-wheeling chat with the Zairian media recently, the US ambassador in Kinshasa praised the RPF, saying the US valued "discipline and organisation" over what he termed "French support for decadent African regimes." Not once did he talk of democracy. The US, having turned a deaf ear to calls for support from Zaire's democratic opposition, is banking on the Banyamulenge rebels to go all the way to Kinshasa. As the London weekly *The Economist* wrote a couple of weeks ago: "Elections in Africa are being overtaken by more profound changes." Yet South African President Nelson Mandela, Haitian former President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and PNA President Yasser Arafat can all testify that democratic elections provide internal legitimacy — as can Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, who is thumbing his nose at his opponents because he knows the US needs his support in Bosnia.

Clinton's global design, founded on support for muted, indeed military, castes against civilian democratic forces does not bode well for the South, especially for Africa where the RPF is now calling for a second Berlin conference to re-carve up the continent. The growth of Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the emergence of China, and ultimately of India and Brazil, will help counter US unilateralism. But with Senator William Cohen in the Pentagon, US "strategic support" for Israel will be stronger than ever. Madeleine Albright in the State Department will see to it that the UN is either turned into an instrument of US foreign policy or effectively neutered. The US and NATO will make themselves indispensable through more crises like the one in Central Africa. And, as evidenced in Singapore, corporate America and the multinationals will do the rest.



Eng Dhadi Mursu Dhadi and Mr Sherif Dhadi, owners of Sherif Ready-made Clothing Co in Alexandria give a warm welcome to Martin Trist, chairman of the board of Mast Industries, one of the largest companies in the world specialised in importing ready-made clothing, with 7 branches in the United States. The company imports clothing from all over the world. Trist visited Egypt to sign contracts with Egyptian companies, after the recent success of negotiations in the past few months with Samir Fannell Co in Cairo and Sherif Ready-made Clothing in Alexandria. It is worth mentioning that Egyptian products have become competitive with international products in the world market. Requests for export facilities have increased, which is hoped will increase Egypt's volume of exports abroad.



# Managing the South

The WTO's showpiece in Singapore was the liberalisation of the global information technology market. The South, however, is likely to see almost none of the agreement's benefits, writes **Faiza Rady**

Held in Singapore last week, amidst much media fanfare and heavy security for the attending commerce ministers, representing some 120 countries, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) conference reached agreements on several fronts. In what was hailed as the "most far-reaching global trade accord in recent years," the trade ministers of at least 30 countries signed an accord to eliminate tariffs in the information technology market by the year 2000. The United States, Canada, the European Union (EU) and the Asian Tigers jointly account for more than 80 per cent of the world trade in this sector. Despite the official back-patting, deep-seated differences continue to plague relations between the North and the South.

The North-South divide was perhaps best expressed by the divergence between the American and Bangladeshi positions on trade liberalisation. In the words of WTO head Renato Ruggiero, trade liberalisation "has gone past the point of no return and needs to be accompanied by agreed and enforceable rules to protect a market which for the first time exceeds \$6,000 billion."

Pushing to eliminate tariffs protecting national telecommunications systems, acting American trade representative Charlene Barshefsky told the assembled representatives that the US accounts for nearly 50 per cent of all telecom revenues worldwide. "We cannot and will not settle for a situation where we are unable to operate in the other half of the world's markets," she stressed. The chairman of the US Federal Communications Commission, Reed Hundt, added that freeing the world telecommunications market could almost double current annual profits to \$1,000 billion. However, outside the arena of the telecom giants' manoeuvring, it is estimated that two-thirds of the world's population have never made a phone call and that one-half live more than a two-day walk from the nearest telephone.

Barshefsky aggressively preached increased liberalisation, promising that the removal of tariffs would lower consumer prices, make businesses more competitive and ultimately promote industrial growth. Bangladeshi Trade Minister Tofael Ahmed disagreed, claiming that many of the world's 48 least developed countries (LDCs) faced a "crisis of confidence" in Northern liberalisation. "[In the 1980s] in spite of the lurking fear that liberalisation might overwhelm them through a surge in imports, LDCs adopted liberalisation, prompted mainly by the hopes of a better future," explained Ahmed, adding that such hopes were never realised. Instead, in the 1990s, the LDCs' share in global exports and imports fell by 50 per cent and 30 per cent respectively — down from the already meagre levels of 0.6 per cent and 1.0 per cent.

The South is unlikely to benefit much from the conference's showpiece, the much-touted information technology agreement. Most conference analysts believe that profits from the high-tech deal will mainly be pocketed by US and Asian transnationals. Exports from both Asia and the US to Europe are expected to double over the next five years. Consequently, the US and the Asian Tigers gloated over capturing the largest slice of the \$600 billion information technology market, leaving the South out in the cold — with no apparent reason to rejoice.

Commenting on the marginalisation of the South in this crucial sector, Egyptian trade expert Magda Shabib said that the bulk of information technology exchanges have so far been restricted to trade between Canada, the EU, Japan and the US, while the developing countries' improved access to information networks "is becoming increasingly doubtful." Prominent political analyst Noam Chomsky noted that the US, in particular, has much to gain from consolidating its monopoly in the information market. It is vital for American interests "to ensure that US-based corporations control the tech-

nology of the future, including biotechnology, which it is hoped will allow private enterprise to control health and agriculture, and the means of life generally," wrote Chomsky. He added that the South would then be "permanently locked into dependence on high-priced Northern products." Recently published studies tend to confirm Chomsky's argument. According to US International Trade Commission estimates, American companies are likely to gain an annual \$61 billion from the Third World if they succeed in controlling the information technology market.

As a result of the LDCs' crisis of confidence, Third World countries remained on guard in Singapore and refused to sign the much-contested Multilateral Investment Agreement (MIA). Devised by the US and the EU, the MIA was shelved for the time being and put on the WTO agenda for further negotiations. Many experts agree that the MIA is probably the single most detrimental feature of the WTO agenda — mainly because it institutionalises globalisation. "Globalising the economy ultimately means transforming the fundamental macro-economic and social policies of countries of the South into a single monocultural laissez-faire economic model that would be compatible with the long-term requirements of the Northern-dominated world economy," said Martin Khor, director of Third World Network, a Malaysian-based non-government development organisation which has observer status in Singapore.

Critics of the WTO believe that the proposed MIA would effect the permanent transformation of Third World economies. This is because the MIA grants transnational corporations and other investors the absolute right to establish themselves in any country they choose and in any sector of the economy — with the possible exception of defence.

Under this agreement, it would be unlawful for a government to prevent a potential foreign

investor from setting up shop on its soil, even if this government believes that such investment conflicts with the nation's economic interests. Moreover, once the investor establishes himself, the government has to offer him all the facilities, services and incentives that it provides its own nationals and other foreign companies.

In addition, the foreign investor's rights would be supported and enforced by the sanction-based dispute-settlement mechanism of the WTO. Accordingly, any country, claiming violation of the WTO investment rules, would be empowered to retaliate against an alleged perpetrator. The mechanism could function as a powerful political deterrent, especially if retaliation by Northern nations replays the scenarios of the US trade embargo against Cuba, the former siege of Nicaragua, or the economic blockade of Libya and Iraq.

At the end of the day, the WTO aims to divest national governments of any semblance of sovereignty. "The total effect of the [WTO] rules will be to give the rights of transnational corporations priority over the judgements of governments as to what kind of investment is suitable for the developmental needs of their countries. In effect, the MIA seeks to enshrine in law the free, unregulated entry and unregulated operations of transnational corporations in African economies," Ghanaian development specialist Temeh Hormeku-Ajei told *Al-Ahram Weekly* in a telephone interview.

Other intellectuals believe that transnationals are already in control through the mediation of the North's political establishments. In the words of a report by the non-governmental South Commission, chaired by former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, "the most powerful countries in the North have become a de facto board of management for the world economy, protecting their interests and imposing their will on the South." It is a sombre but real reading of the WTO strategy.

## Labour games

The South held out against linking trade and labour standards in WTO's ministerial declaration, reports **Gamil Ibrahim** from Geneva

The South has long been suspicious of the motives of Western nations that want control on labour conditions in the poorer, less developed countries of the Third World. The countries of the South are anxious that such controls might be used as a pretext to impose trade sanctions and erect artificial body barriers to protect the North against expanding exports from the South. The United States and a number of other Western nations raised the question of labour standards and what have now become known as "social clauses" at several international gatherings prior to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) ministerial meeting that took place in Singapore last week. Egypt, together with many other Third World countries, has long resisted moves by Western nations to link trade and labour standards.

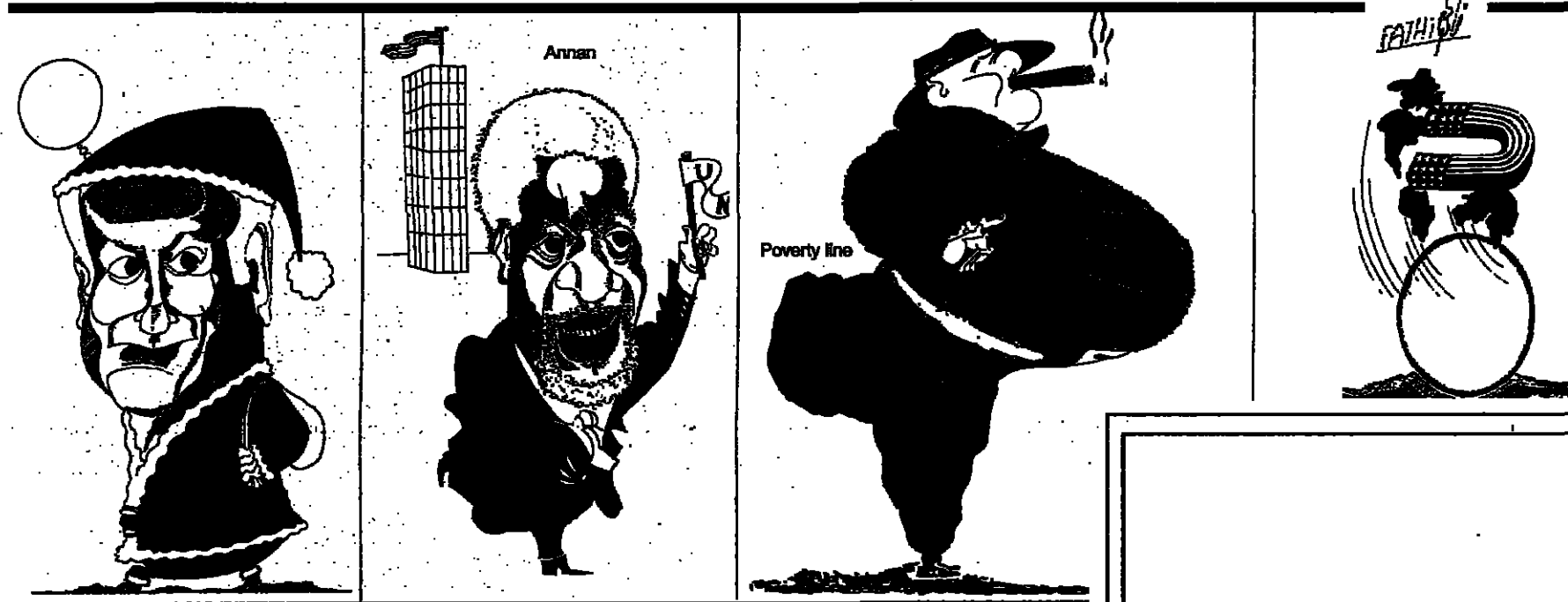
Moumir Zahran, Egypt's ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva, who headed the Egyptian delegation at the Singapore meeting, stated categorically: "The labour standards issue is the concern of the International Labour Office (ILO) in Geneva and should not be on the agenda when discussing trade issues at WTO meetings. The international community must not link labour standards issues and free trade concerns. The latter falls within the WTO domain; labour standards issues are for the ILO to decide." Malaysian Trade Minister Rafidah Aziz put it even more bluntly. "As far as we are concerned, labour standards have no place in the WTO. Period," she said.

On the South's insistence, the WTO was not given the mandate to link trade and workers' protection. The South believes that such issues as labour standards were brought up as a prelude to the imposition of tariffs on imports from the Third World where labour standards are alleged to be lower than those in the West. The West sees low wages and child and prison labour as forms of unfair trade advantages. The Third World nations managed to stop the ILO director-general from participating at the Singapore meeting.

Egypt and several other Third World nations battled with the US and other Western nations that argued for the imposition of trade restrictions on products from Third World countries which have low labour standards. Indeed, the Singapore ministerial declaration stated: "We [the participating ministers] renew our commitment to the observance of internationally recognised labour standards. The ILO is the competent body to set and deal with these standards and we affirm our support for its work in promoting them. We reject the use of labour standards for protectionist purposes, and agree that the comparative advantage of countries, particularly low-wage developing countries, must in no way be put into question. In this regard, we note that the WTO and ILO secretariats will continue their existing collaboration."

The exclusion of any link between labour standards and free trade in the ministerial declaration was interpreted as a defeat for the West. Observers believe that the wording of the final declaration, in fact, points to a compromise. That the matter was raised in the first place indicates that many countries feared an American veto and wanted to placate the US. However, the declaration stressed the cooperation between the WTO and ILO secretariats and as such was considered a victory for the developing countries of the South. It emphasised that the ILO was the proper forum for discussing labour standards.

At preparatory meetings in Geneva for the WTO Singapore gathering, the US and other Western nations pressed for the inclusion of Western multinationals in discussions about the privatisation of government procurements in Third World countries. Here again, Third World nations rejected Western demands. The matter was mentioned in the Singapore ministerial declaration: "We agree to establish a working group to conduct a study on transparency in government procurement practices, taking into account national policies, and based on this study, to develop elements for inclusion in an appropriate agreement." Again the South managed to block US manoeuvres and postpone discussions on a sensitive issue.



## China in space

**Zhang Dan** reports on China's space industry and how its expansion strengthens Beijing's hand and international standing

China's space industry and its counterparts in Europe have broken the ice. In May, it won a contract from Germany Aerospace Corporation to launch in 1997 a German-made communications satellite ordered by Argentina. China's commercial launch service thus entered the European market for the first time.

One month after signing the contract, Liu Jiyuan, president of China Aerospace Corporation (CAC), visited France and Germany and met almost all key figures in the space industry in Europe.

The most encouraging message he received in the visit was from France, the leader in the European space alliance, which used to be a bitter rival of China's space industry and accused China of "dumping" in the international market for selling launch services at "unfair low prices." During the visit, France agreed to open up the European launch service market. The ArianeSpace Corporation of Europe even proposed to discuss with China the issue of joint market exploration of international commercial launch services. Further talks on this issue will begin soon.

Luo Ge, vice-director of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Chinese State Aerospace Bureau, said that the change of attitude by the European space industry toward China may bring about a "new era" of technological and commercial cooperation between the two sides.

He said China's big market potential contributed to the Europeans' change of attitude. "They predict that about 200 satellites will be needed in the next few decades. My only worry is whether enough orbits can be found," Luo said. "China has really big market potential, but if others close their door on us, we won't let them in either."

Exchanges between China and Europe in the space technology and commercial field started a decade ago. After China announced in 1985 that it would provide international commercial launches, the Maersk company of France in 1987 entrusted China Great Wall Industrial Corporation (GWIC), China's international launch contractor, with a recovery operation. But France's willingness to cooperate with China decreased after 1989.

The attitude of Germany has been more flexible. In 1985, China bought space components from Germany to build its high-capacity Dongfanghong-3 communications satellite. The expensive satellite failed to reach its orbit, however, when it was launched in November 1994.

In 1993, CAC and Germany Aerospace Corporation set up a joint-venture company, Euraspac GmbH. A high-tech communications satellite built by the company will be used by China's financial and banking systems to transmit and process data. CAC President Liu Jiyuan said that making the high-tech satellite would enhance China's satellite technology. Recent reports suggest that the project may receive support from France.

Luo Ge said that China's solid space industry basis backed up its cooperation with countries advanced in the field. China's space industry started in the 1950s. In 1956 the Soviet Union began to provide China with assistance, but the help stopped in 1960 when relations between the two nations soured. In the following two decades, China had to work on its own. The Chinese people were proud of their rockets and satellites being 100 per cent made in China. "That didn't mean we needed no international aid or cooperation. It was the blockade by the outside world that forced us to be self-reliant," Luo Ge said.

The situation began to change at the end of the 1970s when China started its reform programmes and began to have extensive technological exchanges with other countries. In the past four decades, China has developed a full array of Long March carrier rockets, the various models of which have carried out 37 flights and propelled 44 satellites into outer space. Six of the satellites were foreign-made.

So far, China has signed governmental agreements on space cooperation with France, Germany, Britain, Russia, India, Brazil and Italy. "A governmental agreement is usually the precondition for comprehensive cooperation projects," said Luo Ge. China and Russia explore space flight technology together and exchange personnel training and visits.

But no such agreement has been reached between China and the United States, the world's space superpower. "Except for two documents signed concerning China's launching of foreign satellites, no agreement on technological cooperation or exchange has ever been signed between China and the US," Luo Ge said. "But we maintain good cooperation with various American companies."

Among the six foreign satellites China has launched, four were built by the Hughes Space and Communications International of the US. In a recent communiqué on the results of investigations into the failure last January of a Chinese

Long March rocket launching a Hughes communications satellite, GWIC and Hughes agreed to continue their "friendly cooperation" in pursuing mutual business interests. Last June, GWIC won two contracts from Space System/Loral, another American company, to launch a number of communications satellites over the next two years.

China plays an active role in cooperating with developing countries on space programmes. Since 1988, it has been working with Brazil on building two global natural resources satellites, the first of which will be launched late next year. A new bilateral agreement signed in Beijing last year widened the scope of the two nations' cooperation to almost all aspects related to space exploration, including the possibility of making an advanced communications satellite for Brazil.

Since 1992, China has cooperated with India, a rising space power, on researching the use of satellites in telecommunications, meteorology and natural disasters. Technical exchanges are also going on between China and Thailand, Indonesia and South Korea.

According to Luo Ge, cooperation between China and other developing countries aims at "meeting each other's needs." "We help others in overcoming their weak points with our technological strong points, and vice versa," he said. "For example, India does a better job in the research of meteorological and communications satellite technology. We can learn from them. India buys China's satellite spare parts."

China is trying to promote the formation of an alliance of Asia-Pacific space powers. China was one of the countries sponsoring the Asia-Pacific Conference on Multilateral Cooperation in Space Technology and Applications in 1992. Since then, sessions have been convened successively in China, Thailand and Pakistan. Representatives of the 16 countries attending all agreed that such a conference can be the prototype for an Asia-Pacific regional aerospace organisation.

According to CAC spokesman Zhang Lihui, space industry cooperation and business in the Asia-Pacific area will help the regional economy prosper. The nations of the region should thus work together for a common future.

The writer is a journalist with China Features.

Edited by **Gamil Nikrumah**

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# Human development scrutinised

IMF-inspired economic reform policies have negatively affected the living standard of most Egyptians, concludes a report on human resource development. Gamal Essam El-Din reviews the report's findings

"The IMF-inspired economic reform and structural adjustment policies have consistently led to slowing down economic growth rates in Egypt in such a way that average rate of growth of GDP per capita dropped to less than 1 per cent in the last three years and that 19 million of the Egyptian people, a third of the population, now live under the poverty line," a 144-page Shura Council report entitled *Human Development as a Basis for Economic Growth* said this week.

The report, prepared by the Council's Human Resource Development and Local Administration Committee, provides a review of human development conditions in Egypt for the year 1995. It relies in its conclusions on a number of surveys conducted by the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Egypt's Institute of National Planning.

According to the report, the concept of human development was coined for the first time in 1990 by UNDP to encompass all aspects of human development in the

world. The report defines "human development" as the process of developing human capacities by providing human beings with the resources necessary for improving their lives, such as access to good education and the means to maintain a healthy life.

Human development and economic prosperity are generally gauged by indicators on life expectancy, health and nutrition conditions, literacy levels, education and per capita rate of GDP growth. Drawing on statistics from the UNDP report, Egypt comes in position 107 out of 174 countries, up from position 173 in 1994. The Shura report also stated that in Egypt, life expectancy is 63.3 years, literacy level among the adult population is 49.1 per cent and per capita share of GDP is \$3,540.

The Shura Council report paid special attention to the role of the IMF-inspired economic reform policies implemented in the early 1990s to determine their impact on human development in Egypt. According to the report, even though these

policies have achieved several economic and financial successes, such as cutting inflation rates down to 7.5 per cent of GDP by June 1996 and raising growth rates to 4.5 per cent at present, these policies have failed to ensure equitable access to basic services. More specifically, the IMF-inspired liberalisation policies were achieved at the expense of a concrete growth in productivity rates and real incomes. "Economic growth should not be considered an objective in itself, but should rather be a tool for achieving man's well-being and prosperity," the report stated.

Worse still, the report contended, the World Bank-inspired structural adjustment programmes have led to a slowing down in economic growth between 1990 and 1995 and raised unemployment rates because of lay-offs in public sector companies. "Although the Social Development Fund was established by the state to alleviate the severity of these policies, the state should take other urgent initiatives to deal with the adverse effects of these policies," the report contended.

port contended.

Since the IMF-inspired economic reform policies were adopted by Egypt in May 1990, the number of illiterate adults has risen while the quality of health services have deteriorated. "Illiteracy rates rose from 16 million in 1990 to 17.5 million in 1993 while close to 3 million children have dropped out of basic school registration," the report said. In health terms, the report added, a third of Egyptian children of pre-school age suffer from growth problems, while clean drinking water has yet to be available to a fifth of the urban population and to two-fifths of the rural population.

The three-day debate in the Council showed that Shura members are highly divided over the conclusions reached by the report on the role of government efforts and economic reform policies on human development in Egypt. While the report was criticised by some as painting a gloomy picture, it was highly praised by others as presenting a balanced and realistic picture, taking into account both the negative and positive effects of government efforts in human development.

Shura member Nazli Musawad, a professor of economics at Cairo University's Faculty of Economics and Political Sciences, criticised the report for adopting the UNDP's concept of human development. "This concept is just one of several other concepts adopted by the United States and the Western world in a new world order," said Musawad. According to her, these concepts "are just old water poured into new bottles". In other words, she added, human development as defined by these Western concepts is based on market economics, Western democracy and the espousing of the social values of Western civilisation, especially the American lifestyle. "But in Egypt we have two centuries of experience in human development, ranging from Mohamed Ali in the 19th century to Gamal Abdel-Nasser in the 20th, which we should stick to and make use of." For these reasons, she emphasised, human development

in the nineties and the next century should be based less on foreign loans and grants and more on local investments and Egyptian values.

Ali Lutfi, former prime minister, praised the report and described it as "bold and frank" in speaking about the negative and positive aspects of human development efforts. He agreed that economic reform policies have led to social inequality and income distortions. "This is why the government should take urgent measures to reduce taxes on limited-income brackets and to redistribute more fairly government spending in favour of increased social services," said Lutfi.

Mohamed Zaki Abu Amer, minister of state for parliamentary affairs, emphasised that the government gives its utmost attention to human development, especially in education and health services. He also criticised the report for ignoring the efforts exerted to improve the living conditions of women, especially those led by Mrs Suzanne Mubarak.

## Unsettled Gulf War spin-off

Though some reparations have been decided for victims of the Gulf War, the UNCC still lacks the funds to make good on its promises, writes **Walid Abdel-Nasser**

One United Nations agency that celebrated the actual implementation of the Security Council's food-for-oil Resolution 986 (1995) was the United Nations Compensation Commission (UNCC), an organ of the Security Council that was established in the aftermath of the second Gulf War (1990-1991). It was set up to compensate individuals, corporations, governments and international organisations that suffered "direct loss or damage resulting from Iraq's unlawful invasion and occupation of Kuwait."

The commission has so far completed two full categories of individual claims for compensation: "A", for those who were forced to leave Iraq or Kuwait during Iraq's occupation of Kuwait, and "B" for individuals who suffered severe personal injury or the death of a relative.

Compensation awards for \$62,000 successful "A" claims, worth \$3.2 billion, were issued by the Commission's Governing Council but were unpaid due to a lack of financial resources prior to the implementation of Resolution 986. On the other hand, and due to their limited volume and value, around 4,000 successful "B" claims were paid a total of \$13.4 million. The funds for this category came from a release of 30 per cent of Iraq's oil-related revenue, which had been frozen, and from voluntary contributions. Both these sources of financing were authorised under Security Council Resolution 778 of 1992.

The Governing Council adopted, at its 23rd session (16-17 December 1996), the fourth report of the Panel of Commissioners on category "C" claims (for individual loss of income less than \$100,000). This category is the third and last category of expedited humanitarian claims categories. With this instalment, the commission would be finalising work on slightly more than half the total number of claims submitted under this category. The total value of these claims is \$1.6 billion.

Resolution 986 would make available to the UNCC for the next six months a sum of \$100 million per month, representing 30 per cent of Iraqi oil sales revenues as stipulated in Security Council Resolutions 705 (1991) and 986 (1995). This amount will definitely fall short of covering all awards issued or to be issued in the coming months. However, the payment of substantial amounts of compensation will, in itself, revive hopes in the hearts of millions of claimants that justice is being rendered. Moreover, Resolution 986 contains a built-in mechanism for review that allows an increase in the amount of oil to be exported by Iraq, thereby increasing the share of UNCC.

The UNCC still faces the difficult task of resolving the more complicated claims belonging to categories "D" (individual loss of income more than \$100,000), "E" (corporate losses) and "F" (governmental, international organisations and environmental losses).

## IMF paints rosy picture

An IMF report forecasts better economic conditions for developing countries during the coming year. **Niveen Wahish** reviews the report.

Dividing the world into three main groups — industrial countries, developing countries and countries in transition — the October edition of the World Economic Outlook report (WEO), which is published bi-annually by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), offers a comprehensive look at the patterns of economic growth and development around the globe.

In the report, the category of industrial countries includes the seven largest nations in terms of GDP, as well as the 15 members of the European Union. Developing countries are listed according to region: Africa, Asia, the Middle East and the Western Hemisphere. Countries in Europe were classified as countries in transition, with the exception of Cyprus, Malta, and Turkey which were included with developing countries.

In evaluating the situation in developing countries, the report notes that "despite the growing number of success stories, many countries continue to struggle with macroeconomic imbalances and structural impediments that keep their living standards well below what they are potentially capable of achieving."

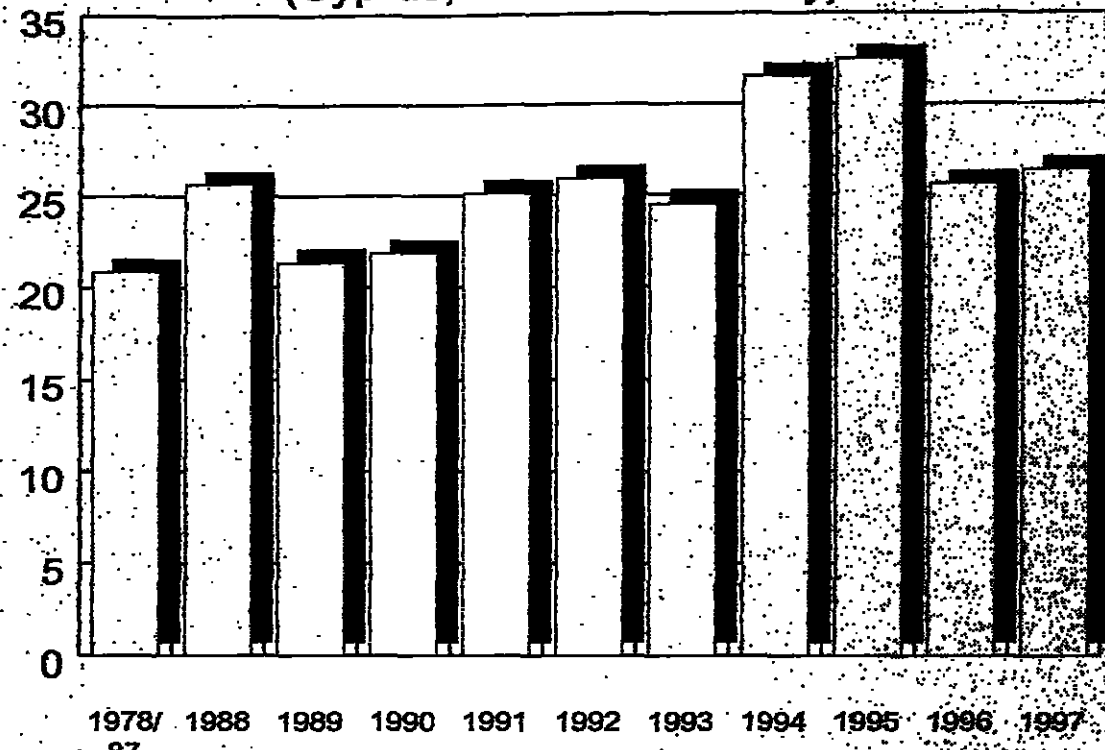
It also points out that while market forces are increasing in strength and influence, public sector industries are still hampering the development of a private sector in many of these countries. It adds, however, that the industrial output of the developing world increased by six per cent in 1995, and the average inflation rate dropped to

20 per cent. In 1996, aggregate growth is expected to rise at the same pace, while inflation is expected to decrease in most countries.

Spotlighting Egypt, the report points out that it has made considerable progress in deregulating its economy and liberalising foreign trade. Moreover, the report highlights the fact that the government's reform programme is moving forward with the privatisation of state-owned entities, the strengthening of the financial sector and attempts to improve the taxation system in order to enable the country "to grow at a faster pace." Within the same context, the report said that Egypt was one of three countries that recently received large private capital flows at a time when capital flows to most countries in Africa and the Middle East are still through governmental channels.

These reforms, states the report, are expected to raise Egypt's output in 1996 by about four per cent, the highest rate of growth since 1987. However, since the report was written, mentioning in its pages that an agreement in principle was reached in late July with the IMF on financial support for a package of policy reforms, changes have been under way. The agreement was concluded with the IMF, writing off a \$4 billion debt as the completion of the third tranche of a 50 per cent debt write-off awarded to Egypt in 1991 when it first embarked on a comprehensive economic structural adjustment programme.

Annual per cent change of consumer prices in the Middle East and Europe (Cyprus, Malta and Turkey)



On the regional level, the report said that economic performance varied among the countries of the Middle East. Jordan and Israel, for example, are experiencing what the WEO report described as a "strong expansion". In Jordan, the report stated that "prudent monetary and fiscal policies should continue to promote robust growth with low inflation over the next year." However, Israel is attempting to avoid the "overheating" expected to accompany its strengthened policies and increased capital in-flows, which have been stimulated by prior gains realised on the path to regional stability.

Oil producing countries, including Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, according to the report, are adjusting to the decreased price of oil. And although fiscal deficits are being reduced, these countries need to take additional measures to further reduce public expenditure so as to be able to contain the increase in the level of public debt.

On the global level, the report pointed out that in 1995, the growth of the world's output stood at 3.5 per cent. At the time, economic expansion was minimal in many industrial countries and developing countries of the West. However, the growth rate was greater in sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East. In 1996, this figure, forecasts the report, will rise to 3.75 per cent and, by 1997, to four per cent. It added that in Africa and the Middle East, the situation is expected to improve more dramatically.

Focusing on other key indicators, the report noted that economic growth, on a global scale, is expected to average around 6.5 per cent in the medium-term, provided that adjustment and reform programmes and capital in-flows continue at their present levels. Inflation is expected to remain stable in industrial countries, but will decline in developing countries and countries in transition.

In looking at the world trade of goods and services, writers of the report conclude that although recessions during the early 1990's in industrial countries have led to a lower demand on imports, this was offset by the increase in activity and imports, especially of capital goods, in developing countries. This demand, in 1995 in particular, helped boost world trade at a time when demand for imported goods in Europe declined. "Growth in world trade is expected to remain buoyant in 1996 and 1997," noted the report.

On the topic of debt settlements, the report said that the burden of external debt for developing countries is projected to decline in 1996-97. It pointed out that since May 1996, a number of countries have completed debt-service agreements, or are now out of debt with official and commercial creditors. Thus, the drop in the external debt-servicing burden of developing countries will free resources for the improvement of the infrastructure and welfare investments.

## Market report

### GMI reaches for the sky

THE GENERAL Market Index (GMI) has maintained its steady increase during the week ending 12 December, gaining 9.02 points to close at 287.76. However, the volume of trading plummeted to LE278.3 million compared to LE512.6 million the week before.

This week, Heliopolis Housing and Urbanisation (HHU) was

the market's leader, realising the highest value of market transactions. Trading LE100.6 million in shares, the company cornered 36.15 per cent of the value of total market trades. Moreover, its shares gained LE45 to close at LE345. Topping the scales in terms of number of shares traded was the Egypt-Arab-African Bank with 369,375 shares changing hands. Out of the 40 companies whose shares increased in value this week, Cairo Housing and Urbanisation recorded the greatest jump, as its shares rose in value by 59 per cent to close at LE20.5. Similarly, shares of the Paints and Chemical Industries Company realised an impressive LE51.28 per share increase before leveling off at

LE140. Also in the manufacturing sector, shares of Ameriya Pharmaceutical Industries gained LE29 to close at LE515, while those of the Arab Aluminium Company continued on their two-week upswing to gain LE8 and close at LE48.

After a strong week of trading, the financial sector's index shot up by 14.75 to close at 389.95

points as shares of the Misr Exterior Bank, increasing in value for the second week in a row, gained LE35 to close at LE785. Back in the manufacturing sector, shares of the Kafr El-Zayat Pesticides and Chemicals company led the way for the 34 companies whose shares decreased in value. The company's stock fell by 12.5 per cent and closed at LE70, while that of the Upper Egypt Mills company lost 3.3 per cent of its opening price and closed at LE67.75. The financial sector's Commercial International Bank (CIB) also had a less-than-stellar week as its shares fell by LE6 to close at LE485.

Edited by Ghada Ragab

## BCCI refunds

FIVE years following the collapse of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI), thousands of the bank's depositors hope to be partially refunded in the near future.

According to Wagh Shindy, former minister of investment and international cooperation and head of the Finance, Business and Legal Experts Group which is responsible for the refunding operation, nearly 25,000 former depositors from 130 countries will receive a total of \$1.35 billion in compensation. This figure represents about 15 per cent of the collapsed bank's total deposits, which are estimated to be in the range of \$9 billion.

This move follows the success of liquidators in obtaining compensation from the main shareholders of the bank in the United Arab Emirates. In addition, funds have also been obtained from the liquidation of the bank's assets and court rulings in favour of the bank in the US. Other compensation funds have come from some Arab businessmen who were shareholders in the bank.

An agreement has been reached with the Abu Dhabi government stipulating that liquidators receive \$1,800 billion in compensation. US authorities also allowed the transfer of \$243 million after the liquidation of one of the US institutions funded by the bank.

## Lisez

En vente tous les mercredis

- Plan du gouvernement
- Une accélération des réformes attendue
- Conférence de l'OMC à Singapour
- Les pays du Sud ont fait front
- Kofi Annan à l'Onu
- L'Afrique sauve sa tête
- Le président afghan Rabbani
- Contre les Talibans s'est créée une nouvelle alliance régionale

- Prédicateurs des mosquées
- A la recherche de la juste voix
- Zamalek, vainqueur de la Coupe des champions
- Un géant d'Afrique

**Rédacteur en Chef**  
**Exécutif**  
**Mohamed Salmawy**

**Président**  
**et Rédacteur en Chef**  
**Ibrahim Nafie**



# Al-Ahram: A Diwan of contemporary life

During the first 25 years of its existence, *Al-Ahram* served as an important bridge between the East and West, as is evidenced by the amount of space it devoted to events on the other side of the Mediterranean; indeed around the world.

Frequently, the newspaper would feature reports from its correspondents abroad. Early on in its history, its owner and director, Bichara Tagla, set the tradition of touring European capitals in order to provide first-hand coverage of major events. It was a tradition he continued to follow until his death in 1901. Another section of *Al-Ahram*, generally located on the third page, was called "Public and Private Telegrams" which featured selections from international news agencies that would be of interest to its readers. Last but not least was a relatively permanent fixture in *Al-Ahram*. Taking up not an inconsiderable space of the front page and sometimes overflowing onto the second was the column, "Mail from Europe."

"Mail from Europe" offered selections from European newspapers and magazines. Apart from articles taken from the French press, the column featured selections from the British press, with particular attention to the *London Times* due to its reputation for credibility. *Al-Ahram* also frequently published selections from the German, Austrian, Italian and Greek press, which means that from its earliest years a considerable portion of its work was devoted to translation.

It is interesting to note that "Mail from Europe" took up a considerably greater amount of space in the earlier years of the newspaper. During these sensitive nascent years, *Al-Ahram* had to be careful to avoid embroiling itself directly in domestic issues, particularly in what it referred to as "politics". It was therefore safer to leave the European newspapers to speak on its behalf. However, after Egypt fell under British occupation, *Al-Ahram* no longer feared engaging directly in politics since it enjoyed the legal protection of the French Consulate and the moral protection of the general nationalist climate. Nevertheless, that Egypt was ruled by one European power — Great Britain — which was an arch rival of another European power — France — lent "Mail from Europe" a special status.

A quick comparison between *Al-Ahram* and the other major Arabic language newspapers of the epoch — *Al-Muqattam* and *Al-Liwa* — which appeared in 1889, and *Al-Liwa* which appeared in 1900 — demonstrates that our newspaper provided the most important bridge to the outside world. *Al-Muqattam*, with its Ottoman orientation, was primarily drawn to events surrounding the Supreme Porte. The pro-British *Al-Muqattam* devoted the bulk of its space to issues suggested to it by the occupation authorities or to defending the occupation against the nationalists. As for *Al-Liwa*, it followed the strictly nationalist line of its owner and founder Mustafa Kamel and it was only logical that it would concern itself with external

events only insofar as they served its interests.

As this important link to Europe broadened, its content became increasingly varied. In spite of its title, it was not solely preoccupied with the rapid turn of events on that continent per se. Rather, the objective was to highlight the important reports that appeared in European newspapers, regardless of whether or not they were related to events in Europe. As a consequence, readers found themselves transported variously from Europe to the Far East or to Latin America. Closer to home, the column featured selections from the European press that had direct bearings on the growing European aspirations in the Middle East during a crucial era of imperialist expansion. Nor did *Al-Ahram* overlook in its selections the human interest stories with which it would tantalise its readers from time to time. Indeed, this is an appropriate starting point with which to begin our tour of *Al-Ahram*'s "Mail from Europe" column.

"Royal families" was a subject that was sure to attract the reader's interest, particularly in light of the fact that the monarchical system still prevailed in most European countries: Great Britain, Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia, Belgium, Holland, Sweden and Norway. The following two stories illustrate the type of articles featured in this category.

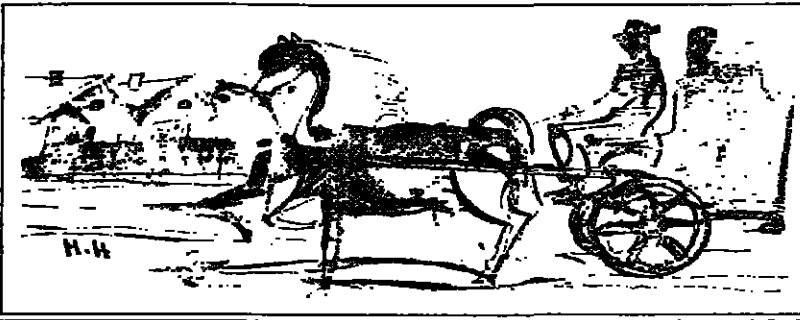
The first pertains to Queen Victoria, who one day was reviewing the troops in the company of one of her granddaughters. "The young princess would cast her eye at length upon some of the officers of the guards in spite of the reproachful glances her grandmother directed at her. The princess had been toying with a handkerchief when suddenly a gust of wind blew it from her hand on to the ground. Immediately four officers rushed forward to attempt to restore it to its owner. The queen, however, ordered the officers to leave the handkerchief as it was turned to the princess and told her to bend down and pick it up herself. As the princess did as she was told, her face was red with shame and anger."

On 13 February 1901, "Mail from Europe" offered its readers a delightful account of the wedding ceremonies of Wilhelm, the queen of Holland. On the first day, the queen issued a pardon for all those sentenced to prison for having committed murder, but who had continued to protest their innocence. The following day, she received the delegations of kings and statesmen who had come to attend the ceremonies. The article goes on to describe the elegant banquet attended by visiting royal and ambassadorial delegations and the play that was staged for the queen.

Much as our contemporary newspapers do, the editor of the "Mail from Europe" column would, from time to time, select sensational stories of events on the other side of the Mediterranean. Under the headline, "Accident in Rome," *Al-Ahram* reports that on 13 August 1901 a train stalled at a distance of 12km from the Ital-

## 160

From the early days of its publication in 1876, *Al-Ahram* showed a great interest in foreign news, a trait that it has retained until today. In the first 25 years of existence, it carried a permanent front-page section for foreign news, dubbed 'Mail from Europe', which sometimes spilled over onto the second page. Despite the title, that section was not confined to Europe but also covered news from the Arab world, the Far East, the United States and Latin America. In this instalment of his *Diwan* chronicles, Dr Yunan Labib Rizk samples some of the foreign news items that *Al-Ahram* judged to be worthy of publication



ian capital. "The engineer sent out one of the conductors to warn the train that was due to arrive after them. But, the driver of the following train did not receive the warning and crashed into the stalled train, crushing its carriages. Fifteen were killed and four were wounded. When news of the accident reached the king and queen, they along with other members of the court, rushed to the scene in order to tend to the injured."

*Al-Ahram* also entertained its readers with the curiosities of European habits and customs which would sometimes invoke the newspaper's admiration and at others its disapprobation. The newspaper was greatly impressed by "the Greek banker, Sarcos, who bequeathed all his assets to charitable activities. We have read in recent newspapers that the man, who wrote his will in his own hand, placed most of his considerable wealth, which amounted to 30 million drachmas, in trust for charitable institutions. Of this amount he allocated three million to building schools, courts and improving prisons. He allocated another sum for the construction of bakeries to produce cheap bread in Athens, and a third amount to the founding of charitable institutions. This great benefactor was buried at government expense and the royal family marched in his funeral cortege. People were unanimous in their praise and mourning for the man."

The newspaper was also struck by that intimate relationship between the British and their animals. As an illustration of this idiosyncrasy, it cited Lord Roberts who after returning from the war in Afghanistan

"so praised the valour and courage of his horse that Queen Victoria bestowed the Medal of Kabul upon the noble steed, personally hanging the medal around its neck. She also conferred the Victoria Medal of Good Conduct upon two dogs." This drew both admiration and surprise from *Al-Ahram*.

Other customs were not so deserving of *Al-Ahram*'s approbation. On one occasion, for example, it directed its scorn against the superstitions that some Europeans still clung to particularly in eastern parts of the continent.

In similar vein, *Al-Ahram* condemned the practice of some European newspapers to publish astrological "predictions" for the new year. Nevertheless, this attitude did not prevent *Al-Ahram* from relaying those predictions, even if it did preface it with the religious injunction, "Astrologers tell not the truth, even if their predictions turn true."

While some European social customs struck wonder and others provoked censure, unqualified praise was reserved for the latest scientific discoveries and inventions in the developed world. The newspaper was particularly impressed by an American device that could transmit sound to a range of 25 miles. It was also impressed by a new armoured vehicle invented in Italy.

Further in this line of human interest, "Mail from Europe" covers the first attempt to cross the English Channel. This took place in 1898 when the Englishman, Frank Holmes, set off from the British coastline. His brother accompanied him in

a boat. "He was carrying food and could rescue him if the need arose." On two occasions, the passing ships attempted to stop and rescue what they thought was a drowning man; however, the brother warned them off. "At 2 o'clock, Frank decided to have a bite to eat and his brother handed him a bottle filled with warm milk and a bit of pressed meat." Later, the brother tried to convince Frank to give up, but Frank was adamant about pressing on until the end. However, as they approached the French coast, the outboard discovered that it was blanketed in such a thick fog that he was convinced that Frank might get lost and that he would be unable to save him. He prevailed upon Frank to get into the boat and Frank agreed."

The procession of uninterrupted news in the "Mail from Europe" provides a detailed panorama of international political conditions at the turn of the century. One segment of this portrait is related to events in Europe itself which was in the grip of two concerns. The first was the spectre of the anarchist movements that had claimed several crowned heads of state. The second was the romantic notion, championed by the Russian tsar, that it was possible to create a permanent peace in the war-plagued continent.

The issue of anarchism was ignited by the assassination of the Italian King Umberto in 1900. It was with particular interest that *Al-Ahram* covered the trial of the assassin. *Al-Ahram* followed the news of anarchists everywhere. From Russia, the column reported that the police had arrested 30 students in Kiev, 16 of whom were sentenced to death. "When the court pronounced its verdict, the condemned refused to petition for mercy to the tsar who pardoned them anyway in spite of their obstinacy." From Austria the newspaper reported, beneath the headline "Anarchists!" on the arrest of port workers in Pola on the Adriatic who had planned on blowing up the Austrian fleet anchored in the port.

Tsar Nicholas II's idealistic appeal for European peace was launched in September 1898 in a manifesto in which he pleaded for human compassion and disarmament. Reactions throughout Europe ranged from acclaim to incredulity. An Austrian newspaper commented, "That the tsar has reached out to the world bearing an olive branch is a precedent in human history. If time fulfils his wishes, the name of this great emperor will be etched in the finest page of the annals of history."

On the other hand, a Belgian newspaper wrote, "Anyone who has seen the severity with which the Russian government treats its subjects will treat the tsar's peaceful manifesto with all due caution and skepticism."

The Far East was another corner of the panorama of international conditions depicted by "Mail from Europe." At the forefront of news from these quarters was China, the object of rival European rivaling imperial aspirations of the period.

The column also followed the stream of news emanating from China at the end of

1900 on the Boxer Rebellion and the massive European intervention to quell it, leading to the destruction of Peking. The newspaper featured a traveller's first-hand description of the Chinese capital in the wake of battle. The city "had turned into piles of rubble and remnants of homes and palaces the sight of which weighs heavily on the heart of the beholder."

"Mail from Europe" would hardly be likely to ignore events closer to home in the Arab world, extending from the Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean. An item from Muscat reported great popular anxiety and agitation in the Omani capital because the British consul "had erected a pole in front of his residence from which he flew the British flag, which the people interpreted as a sign that Great Britain had staked a claim to ownership." From Kuwait on 24 April 1902, it reports that instructions were given to British warships to head toward Kuwait after the government had learned that French and Russian battleships had docked there. A third item, this time from Rome, announced that Italian newspapers were predicting that Italian forces would soon be launching an expedition against Tripoli (Libya). Taken together, the three items portray the ongoing tempest that swept over the Arab world and that subsided only after most of it had fallen into the hands of the European powers.

Some of the most interesting items in "Mail from Europe" of that era were those items related to the US, which, at the time, was in the process of acquiring an international garb that would reflect the size of this growing world power. As *Al-Ahram* indicates, Washington was extending itself in two domains: Latin America and the Philippines, both at the expense of Spain. It is no coincidence that at the turn of the century, most of Spain's colonies were erupting into revolution. Within a single year, 1898, its colonies in Chile, Cuba and the Philippines were ablaze in uprisings.

Following the reports in *Al-Ahram*, one notes that the scenario was virtually the same: A popular revolution erupts against Spain. When the revolutionaries, receiving encouragement from the US, make some gains, Madrid attempts to suppress them with the harshness it had habitually used in its colonies. The American forces move in on the pretext of protecting the revolutionaries, cutting off communications between Spain and its overseas possessions. Eventually, Spain gives in and relinquishes its former colonies, creating conditions in favour of the American presence. It was the recurrence of scenarios such as these at the end of the last century that paved the way for the emergence of the world's primary superpower at the end of this century.

The author is a professor of history and head of Al-Ahram History Studies Centre.

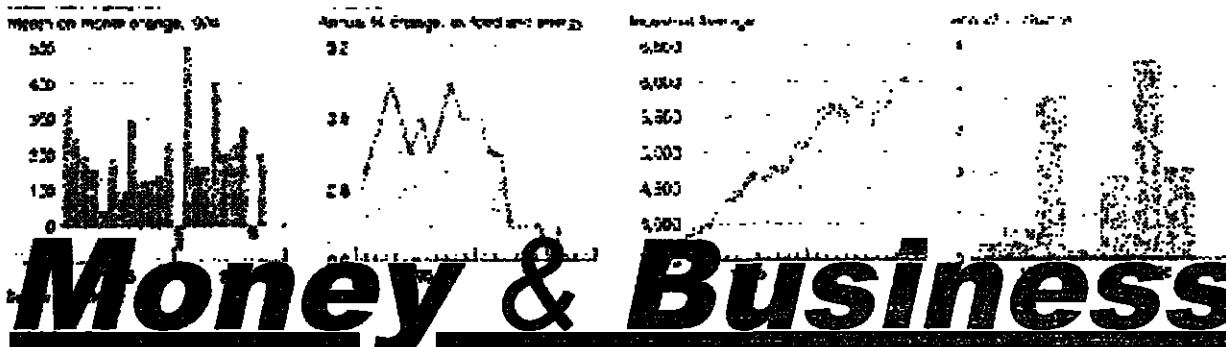


## NBE and Banque Misr among sponsors

IBM, XEROX, Hewlett Packard, ETS and Blue Max Computer, will be joined by Banque Misr and the National Bank of Egypt (NBE) in this year's Al-Ahram Computer Exhibition, which will coincide with the International Conference on Artificial Intelligence.

The exhibition will take place from 27 February until 2 March 1997 at the Semiramis Inter-continental Hotel.

NBE uses the latest, state-of-the-art information technology at its branches nationwide to render the following services: telebanking, network transactions and automatic telling machines.



## German-Arab chamber workshops

ATEF UBAID, minister of the public business sector, will attend the concluding session of the workshop held by the German-Arab Chamber of Commerce. The two-day workshop on environmental management will take place at the Semiramis Inter-continental Hotel. Mohamed Farid Khamis, president of the Egyptian Federation of Industries, will take part in the event. A group of Egyptian and foreign experts are also scheduled to attend the workshop.

## An Investment Bank announces the following vacancies

### Security Staff (Cairo - Benha - Tanta)

#### Conditions

- Holder of prep. school certificate or equivalent
- Military service completed (3 years with good record) preferably those who served in security forces
- Permanently residing in these areas
- Age not to exceed 30

### Operator (Cairo)

- 5 years experience in operating and maintaining telephones
- Age not to exceed 30 years
- Applicant is required to pass the tests at the bank.
- Applicants will be notified about the date and place of these tests

Applications should be mailed to:

P.O.Box 2446

Cairo - Personnel

within a week from the advertisement date.

Applications should include a copy of prep. school certificate copy of ID, copy of military certificate and copies of experience certificates plus a personal photo.

## NBE extends new services to stimulate the capital market

IN LINE with the requirements of the Egyptian economy as well as international developments in the banking industry, National Bank of Egypt (NBE) has played a pioneering role in extending unprecedented banking services together with state-of-the-art methods of stimulating the capital

market. Accordingly, an agreement has been concluded between NBE and Misr for Clearing, Settling and Centre Depository to take over the cash management of brokerage companies listed in Cairo and Alexandria stock exchanges. This is in addition to effecting cash management for the benefit of

the said company with a view to streamlining the trade of securities and settlement of financial liabilities.

Furthermore, NBE's El-Nasr and Alexandria branches will temporarily carry out activities of a clearing bank without charging any fees or commissions.

Such a new service is extended, inter alia, by the bank to promote the capital market, via managing the bank's as well as customers' portfolios; extending loans against securities; assuming the role of a market maker; establishing NBE mutual funds and back-office capital market companies to

operate in the fields of brokerage, clearing and safekeeping, financial engineering, restructuring and securitisation. This is in addition to preparing NBE securities index, subscribing on Treasury bills "2000" and extending several other services that target the stimulation of the capital market.

## Banque du Caire: 44 years serving the Egyptian economy

THE RECENT period witnessed the implementation of procedures for the second stage of Egypt's economic reform programme, in light of the undertaking of necessary procedures. The Egyptian government has succeeded in this aspect through realising economic stability, reducing the deficit, and has lessened the inflation rate in the country.

Banque du Caire, with its long experience in boosting the national economy, has taken part in implementing the policies of the economic reform programme, having participated in 35 projects covering a wide range of economic sectors. In the banking sector, the bank is a shareholder in 12 banks within the Arab Republic of Egypt, and in 3 banks abroad. This is in addition to its activities within the tourism, industrial, mining, investment, agricultural, food sanitation, service and industry sectors.

On the local front, Banque du Caire extends its services to all parts of the country, with over 220 branches. The bank also has branches in the Gulf region, at Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah and Ras Al-Khaima in Bahrain. The bank also has capital in the Banque du Caire-

Saudi in Saudi Arabia. There is also a branch of the bank in Amman, Jordan. Branches have recently been extended throughout Africa in Uganda and Zimbabwe. And for a number of years, the bank has had a representative office in Kiev, Ukraine.

Banque du Caire is continually striving to develop its services using the latest technology. In ac-

cordance with the demands of its clients, the bank now offers ATM services at most of its branches, and has introduced home banking for its customers, making it easy for them to carry out transactions. Customers can also make Visa and Mastercard transactions. In the near future, Banque du Caire will issue its own Visa cards.

In boosting the financial market and expanding on the wishes of its customers, Banque du Caire has established its first investment fund, having a value of LE100 million. Although the fund will last for just one year, it is expected to achieve notable gains.

During fiscal year 1994/1995 the bank made a substantial increase in its balance, achieving a 16 per cent increase to LE25,520 million, over the LE21,949 million of the previous year, a gain of LE3,571 million.

Deposits reached LE20,419 million, over LE17,855 million from the previous year. Loans totaled LE10,592 million, a 31 per cent increase over LE8,100 million in the previous year.

As always, Banque du Caire remains one of the national economic pillars which has gained the trust and respect of its customers.

## Industrial Development Bank growth record

THE VOLUME of loans provided by the Industrial Development Bank since the beginning of its activities totaled LE4,300 billion. This sum went to 24,000 beneficiaries and 691 projects in all areas.

The cost of the projects financed by the bank provided over 298 thousand job opportunities.

The Industrial Development Bank of Egypt was launched in 1976 to help enhance Egyptian industry. Small-scale and cooperative industries are given special concern by the bank which provides loans at easy terms for these industries.

The bank also buys the equipment required for these ventures. The Industrial Development Bank of Egypt also acts as a mediator between international monetary foundations and national venture to secure the financing these projects require. The bank launched many branches in new urban communities such as 10th of Ramadan City, 6 October City, El-Salam City, El-Sadat City and Borg Al-Arab, so as to boost development there.

The latest service of the bank is the marketing of client's products in local and international fairs through displaying their products in the bank's pavilion at the Cairo International Fair.

## Daqahliya Bank assembly to convene

THE GENERAL Assembly of Daqahliya Bank will convene on Saturday 28 December in Mansoura to approve the balance sheet and discuss the modifications in the operation system of the bank. The bank's name will be changed to suit its future activities, Seif Qatari, managing director of the bank stated.



## Settlement unsettling

Once again, Netanyahu has proven that he is hell-bent on doing as he pleases, with no regard for the consequences of his actions. Incentives have been offered to Jews to encourage them to settle in Palestinian lands. But while the international community, this time including the US, has condemned the settlement expansion policy as counterproductive to peace, the Israeli premier is not interested in listening.

In fact, Netanyahu is not interested in listening to any suggestions that do not fit with his own ideas. Hence the tension between Clinton and Netanyahu. It matters not to the current Israeli administration that the international community, unlike what Israel is trying to do to the Palestinians, is not attempting to dictate policy but put forth recommendations that will push along the long-stalled peace process. Nor does it matter to Netanyahu that the expansion of settlements in both the West Bank and East Jerusalem are initiatives which decidedly run counter to the Oslo Accords, to which, incidentally, the Likud leader does not feel obliged to honour. But while Netanyahu is, to put it in legal terms, assuming facts not yet accepted as evidence — namely that Israel will have increased rights in these areas, be sure that if the Palestinians were to do the same, as in declaring sovereignty, he would be the first to voice vociferous opposition and, perhaps, drop a few bombs for good measure.

These issues, however, are of no interest to Netanyahu and other extremist Israelis, who view the expansion of settlements as a duty compelling enough to perhaps incite a third Intifada and the final and conclusive breakdown of peace in the region. Moreover, if these issues, as Netanyahu has clearly stipulated, are not really up for discussion, then which ones are?

Netanyahu must, once and for all come to terms with the reality that the right to self-determination which Israel values enough to allow it to blindly deconstruct peace, is the same dream that Palestinians look to when forcing themselves to sit at a negotiating table with a partner in peace that would have them dead.

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# Opportunities within reach

The economic future looks brighter than ever, but only if the Arab world capitalises on the hard won gains it has already made, writes Ibrahim Nafie



As I noted in last week's article, the Arab world is in a position to realise a period of unprecedented economic growth, following a decade, the 1980s, in which development goals seemed increasingly out of reach.

On what do I base such optimism? Certainly, as far as oil exporting nations in the region are concerned, attempts to diversify economies have been strikingly successful. True, oil revenues remain the single most important source of income for these countries, though in the next few years, we can expect to see an enhanced performance in secondary sectors of the industry.

Saudi Arabia, the UAE and Kuwait account for 45 per cent of the world's known oil resources. Outside the Gulf Cooperation Council, only Iraq, Iran, Venezuela, Mexico, the Central Asian republics and Russia possess significant oil reserves. As the century draws to a close, it seems inevitable that industrialised nations will become increasingly dependent on imported oil, the bulk of which will be produced by Arab members of OPEC.

Most experts in the industry predict that OPEC members will, by the end of the century, account for some 45 per cent of total oil production, a rise of almost 10 per cent on current figures. This means that Arab members of OPEC can expect their production of oil to increase from the present level of 16 million barrels per day to 23-25 million barrels daily over the next few years. Should the ban on Iraqi oil exports not have been entirely lifted by the end of the century, then the shortfall in production will be made up by other Gulf oil exporters, thus increasing the overall levels of their potential revenues.

If experts are fairly unanimous in their estimates of the effects of the growth in demand for oil on production, they are less sure about its effects on price. Yet even the most con-

servative estimates calculate the price of a barrel of oil at between \$21-23 over the next few years. This steady increase in price and in exports will generate increased revenues for oil producers. The benefits of these increases are already being felt, and in the short term will be increasingly significant to regional economies.

The rise in oil prices during the Gulf crisis saw the cost of a barrel of oil reach \$17, where it remained until 1995. Steady increases since then have seen oil head towards the \$20 a barrel mark, generating increased incomes for GCC members this year.

This jump in oil revenues has coincided with concerted efforts on the part of Arab oil producers to limit their budget deficits. By the end of this financial year debts incurred during the Gulf crisis should have been finally eradicated, and by the end of the decade the Gulf economies should once again be generating large financial surpluses. Though these are un-

likely to reach the levels they did in the seventies and early eighties, they will, nonetheless, furnish an important impetus to inter-Arab cooperation.

If the outlook for oil producers is bright, it is no less so for non oil-producing countries in the region, who will also benefit, indirectly, from the increased demand for oil.

Massive strides have already been made in reforming the majority of Arab economies. Tunisia, Morocco, Jordan and Egypt are already beginning to see the rewards of years of difficult reforms in enhanced economic growth and reduced budget deficits. And the example furnished by these four have, since the mid-nineties, influenced policy makers in Yemen, Syria and Algeria, who are seeking to follow their lead.

Arab economies have made many strides in improving their economies. Competition is now at unprecedented levels. The investment climate has never been better with privat-

isation programmes, deregulated financial markets, and legal and tax reforms attracting local and international investments and encouraging higher rates of economic growth. And after a long period of stagnation per capita shares of GNP are finally increasing, a trend that is expected to continue.

How, then, can we capitalise on what are, in effect, a series of very optimistic indicators?

Certainly we need to consolidate our administrative and organisational capacity to service potential investors, which demands that we make use of the latest technologies. And we must be conscious of the need to attract a larger share of increasing oil surpluses as investment within the region.

Much work is still to be done in identifying the most profitable areas for investment, and in calculating which projects have the greatest potential developmental spin-offs in stimulating Arab cooperation.

We must not, however, repeat mistakes of the past, when government bureaucracies acted to inhibit potential investment. Rather, we should be working towards something resembling an Arab free trade zone.

Without venturing to propose a specific mechanism to boost what is, in reality, a paltry level of inter-Arab trade, we must formulate policies capable of capitalising on gains already made if we are to create an Arab free trade zone worthy of the name.

We have a long way to go before we are in a position to realise the full implications of Arab economic cooperation that will enable each Arab country to optimise its full potential. But if we are to reach this position we must remain steadfast in the face of challenges and international changes. Only such steadfastness will enable us to grab the golden opportunity, so tantalisingly in reach, with both hands.

## Freezing the peace process

Mohamed Sid-Ahmed discusses the scenario of a blocked peace process, possibly for years to come

In its September/October 1996 issue, the prestigious American review, *Foreign Affairs*, published an article by Richard N Haass, adviser to former president Bush on Middle East problems and currently director of Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, under the title, *The Middle East: No More Treaties*, which puts forward a very different assessment of the situation than those we usually hear.

In the author's view, "It has been a remarkable five years in the Middle East. Beginning in October 1991, when Arabs and Israelis first met face to face in Madrid, it went on to include two Israeli-PLO accords, an Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty, two grand regional economic conferences, the repeal by the UN General Assembly of the 1975 resolution equating Zionism with racism, serious peace negotiations between Israel and Syria, and decisions by several Arab states and many other governments around the world to establish diplomatic relations with Israel... That era, if five years can qualify as an era, is over."

As to whether there is any chance of further treaties in the coming era, Haass states flatly that "for the next five years, the short answer is no." The main reason he gives for this bleak appraisal is that the agreements already reached reduce the prospects for treaties, because there is less urgency now than before. As he puts it, "The status quo is better than it was five years ago and is in many ways tolerable — possibly more tolerable than the risks of compromise." Moreover, there is neither the will nor the ability to conclude an Israeli-Palestinian final status agreement at this juncture, with Netanyahu opposing a Palestinian state, the right of return for Palestinian refugees, and any dilution of exclusive Israeli sovereignty over a united Jerusalem. In this situation, it is politically less likely for Israel "to live with an imperfect status quo than to contemplate controversial alternatives."

Haass dismisses the prospects of a treaty between Syria and Israel — and hence between Lebanon and Israel — as even more unlikely. Noting that the close outcome of the recent election underlined that Israel is a divided country, he points out that it is impossible to define what mandate, if any, Netanyahu can rightfully claim. Haass concludes that the current situation in the Middle East is "neither stable nor sustainable"... and that "the

current modus vivendi can collapse." According to Haass, another war between Israel and Syria "could well involve weapons of mass destruction... and even if this nightmare did not materialise, a conventional war would still involve staggering human and financial costs on either side."

Still, he believes it would be wrong to equate poor prospects for agreements with an end to the peace process. There is what he calls a plateau between peace on the one hand and conflict on the other, and establishing such a plateau ought to be the purpose of the next era of diplomacy. For diplomacy can still achieve progress in the absence of treaties and other formal agreements. As Haass sees it, three alternatives stand out: unilateralism (such as an Israeli pullout from southern Lebanon... "which would reduce the vulnerability of Israeli forces and put pressure on Syria and Iran to halt their interference in Lebanon's internal affairs..."); confidence-building measures (such as further Israeli withdrawals in accordance with the Oslo II accords...); and signalling (the example he chooses to give here is that Israel must "communicate to Damascus that it is... prepared to attack Syrian forces in Lebanon... to interrupt Syrian support for Hezbollah").

Haass may not be talking in the name of the Clinton administration, but his arguments are persuasive and cannot be easily dismissed. Contrary to the commonly held view that the choice is between a breakthrough towards peace as the best-case scenario and more of the status quo as the worst, he warns that the choice could well be between the status quo as the best-case scenario and deterioration towards war, eventually nuclear, as the worst.

I have previously written that the 'optimal' situation for Netanyahu was never the 'maximal' situation, that is, to move forward with the peace process to its ultimate conclusion of mutual peace agreements binding on all the protagonists. Haass has now come up with an even more gloomy appraisal, stating that it is all the parties concerned and not only Netanyahu who would find in the status quo a lesser evil than the concessions they will have to make to finalise the peace process.

An important question is whether this appraisal and the 'diplomacy for a new era' advocated by Haass will induce Washington into 'correcting' its

Middle East policy. So far, it is not clear how Clinton's new team, particularly secretary of state Madeleine Albright, will react to the present situation in the region. Although she is known for her hawkishness in general, her specific inclinations on the Arab-Israeli dispute have not been put to the test. Nor does the fact that her appointment was greeted with dismay in the Arab world and jubilation by the Israeli government prove conclusively that she is biased in Israel's favour.

The ideas put forward by Yale University history professor Paul Kennedy in his book, *Preparing the XX1st Century*, are said to be seen by the new Clinton team as a possible guideline for the implementation of the President's election slogan of becoming America's bridge to the next century. According to Kennedy, the main challenges of the future will no longer be ideological or military, but will relate to population and environmental problems, biotechnologies, robotics, information technologies, the globalisation of financial markets, i.e., problems of a global nature. In the *Foreign Affairs* issue of January/February 1996, Kennedy wrote an article introducing the idea of 'pivotal states', which could very well serve as a blueprint for the new administration's policy towards countries of the South, including those of the Middle East.

The basic idea behind the 'pivotal states' theory is that rather than spread its resources over the globe, the US should channel its overseas aid more discriminately towards a limited number of states, not necessarily friendly to the US, but with the capacity to affect regional and international stability, more specifically, the stability of American interests. Kennedy selects a number of countries in the South which meet the criteria of a 'pivotal state': Egypt, Algeria and South Africa in Africa; Turkey in Europe; India, Pakistan and Indonesia in Asia; Mexico and Brazil in Latin America. In designating a state as pivotal, Washington's main concern would not be to privilege that state but to have it assume particular responsibilities that can enhance America's global role. In other words, it is the promotion of global unilateralism under US primacy at the expense of multilateralism a policy in keeping with Ms Albright's hawkishness. Is that what we are up against?

### The Press This Week

**Al-Arabi:** "The fact is that those Arabs who have volunteered to make concessions — from Anwar El-Sadat to Yasser Arafat — have nothing more to give up, except a final declaration of total surrender without any strings or conditions. The real problem is that this is exactly what Netanyahu wants — or else he is more than willing to proceed to the open battlefield!" (Abdallah El-Sinawi, 16 December)

**Al-Akhabar:** "While the whole world is opposed to the settlements policy in the occupied Arab territories and views it as an obvious violation of international agreements, the Israeli government has decided to give priority to investment in Jewish settlements. Egypt is exerting every effort to bring about a balanced agreement between the Palestinians and Israelis, but Israeli officials have made hard-line statements rejecting Egyptian mediation. The ball is now in Israel's court and the negotiations will not resume their normal path unless the Israeli position becomes more balanced." (Editorial, 15 December)

**Al-Wafd:** "It is clear that the policy of the Israeli premier will lead the region to the brink of war. Several reasons lead us to believe this. The Israeli government is financing new Jewish settlements, which only means it is adamant in pursuing a policy of violence and hostility. The answer to this policy lies with the stone-throwing heroes and the intifada men. It is time that freedom fighter Arafat takes up his weapons once again. When this happens Israel will not wake up until the horrific end." (Editorial, 15 December)

**Al-Ahram:** "The present strategy of the Israeli government is to liquidate the Palestinian presence by turning Palestinian areas into unconnected islands so that it would be impossible to have a single Palestinian geographic entity which could be the basis for a future state. In implementing this strategy, Israeli Infrastructure Minister Sharon is trying to whip up 'settlement fever' among Israelis presenting the matter as the biggest challenge before Israel and well worth sacrificing peace for." (Taha El-Magdoub, 15 December)

**October:** "We ask the US to be a just and even-handed partner. And we ask Israel to realise that its security is linked to achieving justice in its relations with the Arabs. Its usurpation of Arab rights and lands is a time bomb which could go off tomorrow or the day after or in a hundred years. What should we ask of the Arabs? Is it not

### Brink of war

time for them to wake up to the tragedies besieging them before the future brings new ones? Will they listen? The greater part of the problem is the Arabs themselves!" (Ragab El-Banna, 15 December)

**Al-Shaab:** "The question is: what would make Netanyahu give up his violent approach? He has tried a hard-line policy with the Arabs and found out that it is the quickest way to achieve his ambitions. This, because the Arabs, despite their number, are divided and far too weak to declare war on Israel, stop normalisation or withdraw their ambassadors. They are even unable to make any statements for fear that they would be accused by the US of being warmongers! I ask: are the Arabs capable of anything other than condemnation?" (Mahmoud Hameya, 13 December)

**Al-Mussawar:** "Israeli premier Binyamin Netanyahu does not want to believe that the Egyptian press can criticise his actions against the peace process without getting prior consent from President Mubarak or Information Minister Safwat El-Sherif! The strange thing is that he wants from the Egyptian press what he cannot ask of his own press — to turn a blind eye and a deaf ear to his provocative statements and actions which ignore Palestinian rights." (Makram Mohamed Ahmed, 13 December)

**Al-Akhabar:** "For every action there is a reaction. It is only natural that there should be a change in the Palestinians' mood towards greater extremism in the face of the extremism pervading Israeli society. The persistence of the Israeli government in continuing the policy of settlement building is a brazen provocation to Palestinians and Arabs. Matters have grown worse with the recent Israeli decision to build 130 houses for Jews in the heart of Arab East Jerusalem. It would be no surprise if violence erupted and terrorism returned once again!" (Said Sonbul, 12 December)

**Al-Gomhuriya:** "It seems that the new ministerial line-up in Washington, made up of hard-liners, extremists and sympathisers with the Hebrew state, has given the green light for the colonialist settlement group to do as it pleases. The group of amateurs in power in Israel have not realised that the era of military colonialism is over or that racist settlements are shameful." (Mahfuz El-Ansari, 10 December)

Compiled by Hala Saqr

### Individual growth

By Naguib Mahfouz

Any attempts at comprehensive development that fail to incorporate a cultural dimension can, at very best, achieve only a partial success. Development is, after all, about growth, and no society can grow if it chooses to ignore the intellectual and spiritual welfare of its people.

Individual growth, of course, can be encouraged through many channels. School, together with the family environment, are of paramount importance. Access to books is also important, as are, increasingly, audio visual devices.

Documentary films which teach young about different civilisations and different peoples are an educational tool that should be widely used in schools. The teaching of literature, the arts, indeed all the humanities and sciences, would benefit from intelligent presentations that use both word and image. Television is an important tool in developing individual consciousness. But it is a two edged tool, and we must always be on guard against the reductionist tendency of the medium, which all too often over simplifies issues. This reservation aside, I find it impossible to conceive of any comprehensive development project that does not fully utilise the educational possibilities of television.

Television is a means of communication which transcends barriers, including the barrier of illiteracy itself, and which has little respect for divisions based on group, class or age.

Based on an interview by Mohamed Salmany.



In my drawing of the face of Kofi Annan, the UN's new secretary-general, is a mixture of Jomo Kenyatta, Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah and Leopold Senghor. I do not see Kofi Annan as a rival of more space I would have portrayed him carrying a torch, the same African torch carried by his predecessor.



## Close up

Salama A. Salama

## Revived and invigorated

The theatre today has become a venue for political expression and criticism, with the stage offering artists a means to expose many of the political, social and economic problems that afflict contemporary life.

In recent years both state and private sector theatre companies have staged plays addressing pressing social issues. The majority of productions have tended towards comedy and satire, as in *Dasar Ya Asyad* (By Your Leave, Masters) and *Mama Amerika* (Mother America), though there have been more serious plays, including *Al-Gharb* (The Chain), which addressed the issue of terrorism head on.

And at the moment the National Theatre is given over to yet another politically-inspired play, a farce on electoral tampering and corruption in parliamentary life which takes place under a government that endlessly exploits the press, the police and its own security apparatuses to perpetuate its own rule over a population that, though perfectly aware of the sham, can do little to alter the situation.

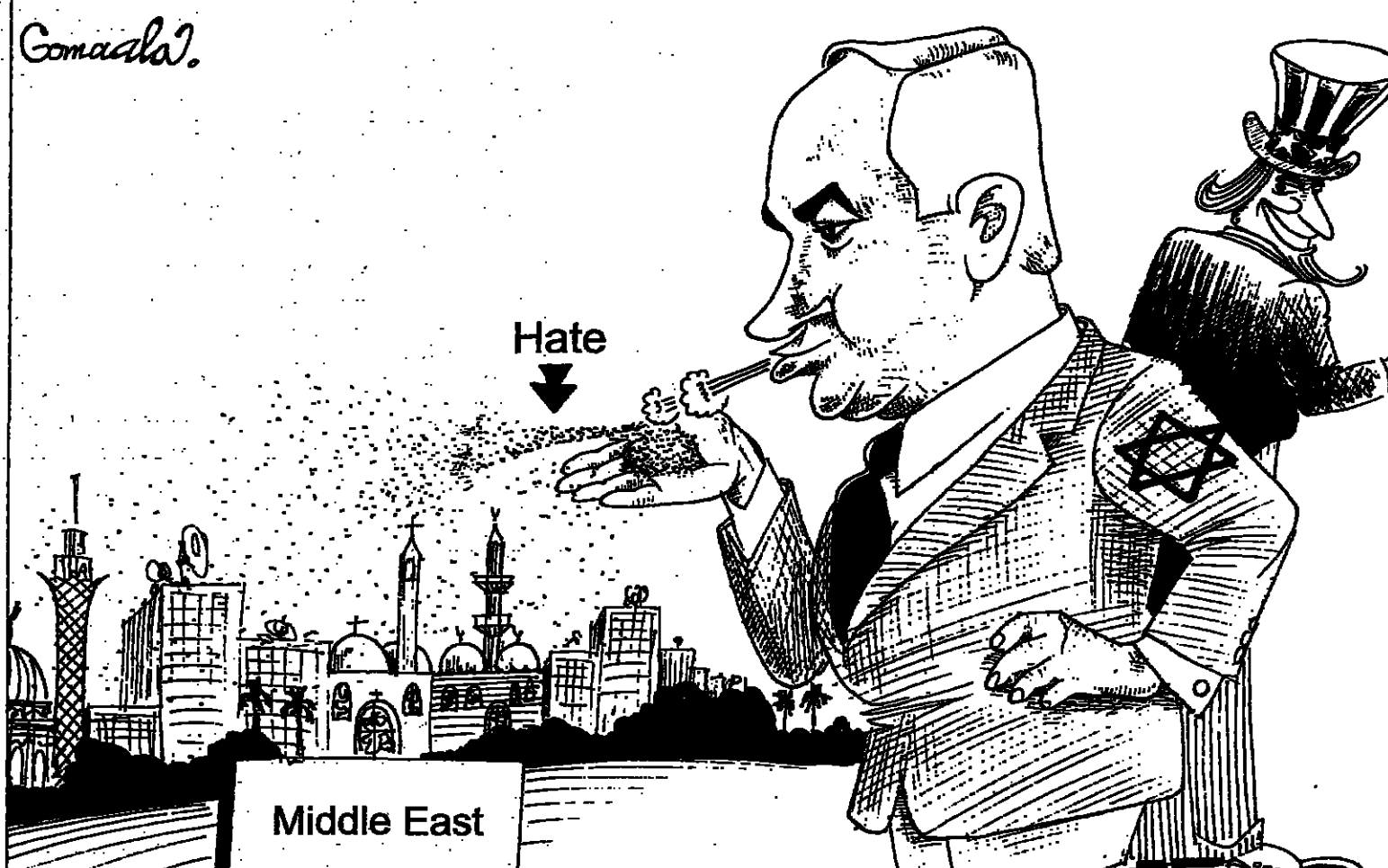
The text, written in the early years of this century by a Romanian playwright, was adapted into Arabic by the well-known novelist Edwar El-Kharrat, and was first performed at the National Theatre in the 1956-57 season under the title *Al-Khatib Al-Mafqud* (The Lost Letter), directed by Hamdi Gheith. As part of its ongoing attempts to re-vivify its repertoire, the National has resurrected the play, extensively revising the text and incorporating a vast number of contemporary expressions in its new production. The director of the current revival, Mohamed Omar, has invested the play with a new vision, in the articulation of which he is well-served by a cast of distinguished actors.

That the play was first produced at the National Theatre at a time when Egypt had no political parties, apart from the Socialist Union, and when parliamentary elections can hardly be said to have existed, may seem, in hindsight, an odd fact. Reviews of the play, published during its run in the late fifties, make it abundantly clear, however, that the production was not intended to defend or promote the integrity of the electoral process, the ultimate sovereignty of the people or the probity of the political process, rather, it was staged as a justification of a single party state propounding a totalitarian ideology that sought to deny any political plurality.

The current revival seeks to redress the earlier attempt at propagandising, and in doing so seeks to restore the intentions of the original playwright. In this production is mostly successful. The entire ensemble plays excellently — with notable performances from Mahdi Sadeq in the role of Sergeant Aryan and Ahmed Aql in the role of the corrupt, yet deluded, Pasha.

Unfortunately, though, this excellent production has been let down, as is so often the case, by an absolute dearth of publicity. No attempt, it seems, has been made to bring the play to the attention of the general public who will consequently remain, as usual, engrossed in the antics of television actors, both on screen and off.

Comasla.



## Old vinegar, new bottles

Anyone who believes that Clinton's second term heralds an improvement in the Arabs' position is dreaming, writes Edward Said. The challenge now is realising that the US is not essential to resolving regional problems

The appointments announced recently by President Clinton of Madeleine Albright as Secretary of State and former Senator William Cohen as Secretary of Defence should be seen as evidence of how little consideration for foreign affairs there is likely to be during Clinton's second term. Albright herself has no real constituency or power base of her own; she is utterly dependent on Clinton's patronage.

In any case, Clinton was never much interested in foreign policy, even though as a young man he worked for a while as an assistant to Senator William Fulbright of Arkansas, certainly one of the most thoughtful, interesting, and internationally-minded men to populate the US Congress. Although he had initially supported the US war in Vietnam (he voted for the Tonkin Bay Resolution in 1964 under pressure from Lyndon Johnson, a fellow southern Democrat), Fulbright soon turned against the war, and along with Alaska Senator Wayne Morse became LBJ's principal opponent, holding a whole series of Senate hearings on national television that presented damning evidence against US policy, and indeed genocide, in Indochina. Fulbright's Middle East positions were generally favourable to the Arabs, and in 1960 this attitude cost him the post of secretary of state during the Kennedy administration, when a pressure group against him was organised by the pro-Israeli lobby; thus did the lamentable Dean Rusk, an extremely limited functionary, attain the highest position in the US cabinet under both Kennedy and Johnson.

Like Fulbright, Clinton was a Rhodes Scholar, a much coveted academic distinction for only 100 young Americans per year (formerly male only, but now including women), whose lives are enhanced by a two-year scholarship to study at Oxford. Cecil Rhodes was a 19th-century British imperialist who founded Rhodesia and was responsible for a massive British presence in South Africa; according to his bequest only young men from the British Empire were to be picked for the scholarships named after him. Unlike Fulbright, however, Clinton never became much of an internationalist or, for that matter, someone with a serious intellectual curiosity about other cultures and peoples.

It is significant also that Senator Fulbright established another set of scholarships named after him (the Fulbright Awards); these continue until the present, and allow young Americans to study all over the world for a year, thus, according to Fulbright, exposing their minds to other cultures. So far as I have been able to tell, Clinton is seriously interested only in England, which is where his Rhodes Scholarship took him, and where he made many of the friends — like Robert Reich and Strobe Talbott — that have dotted his first administration. All of his political life suggests the concerns of a consummate local politician, extremely careful about protecting his domestic support, even to the point of abruptly changing positions (as he did on the welfare bill last summer) in order to do so. Fulbright's career was ended because of his adherence to an old-fashioned southern view of racial segregation, which he supported well into the civil rights era of the middle and late sixties, at exactly the same time that he was campaigning against Vietnam.

During the 1992 campaign, I recall that Jimmy Carter told me that Clinton, with whom he had cordial relations (which have since soured), had no real deep affinity for or interest in the Middle East. I also recall that Carter contrasted Clinton with Reagan, who, it seems, did have a warm spot for the region — partly, I think, because of his great friendship with the Lebanese-American Hollywood actor and comedian Danny Thomas. I speculate about this, however, since I have no hard evidence. Nevertheless, I think that both Reagan and Clinton have a religious tie to Israel and to the Jewish people; like many middle-American Protestants for whom the Old Testament consecrates Israel as the realisation of God's word, the two men have an unquestioning attachment to the Jewish state, which has been translated into enormous gifts to money, arms, and political support in the United Nations as well as everywhere else.

That is most unlikely to change in Clinton's second term; it is even more unlikely that Clinton can or will develop anything like a warm relationship with either the Arab states as a whole or any Arab leader, with the exception perhaps of King Hussein, affection for whom is handed down from one president to another as a sort of

inherited family heirloom. But even this personal affection is incapable of interfering in the great support that Clinton and his Middle East team lavish on Israel, which remains for the president not only an important ally in the region but domestically a crucial way of attracting the financial and political support of Jewish voters. Nothing like this exists on the Arab side.

During Clinton's first term his foreign policy performance was at best indifferent — he never seemed to focus on it unless a crisis suddenly developed — and at worst inconsistent. It took him three years to decide to do anything about the Bosnian tragedy, and when he did something he simply let Richard Holbrooke come up with a plan to partition the country in a way that consolidated Serb and Croat conquests, without compensating the Bosnian victims for their tremendous losses. Middle East policy was run by a group of so-called Middle East insiders led by Dennis Ross, a Bush hold-over, all of whom had excellent (some would say continuing) connections with the Israeli lobby. Ross and the Israelis devised the Oslo Accords, managed them, and continue to use them as a way of subjugating the Palestinians.

It is interesting, moreover, that the details of Middle East policy have in fact been withheld, with the so-called independent media's cooperation, from public scrutiny. There has been no discussion in the media of what the territories now actually look like, with their discontinuous little Bantustans preventing movement for Palestinians, with their by-passing roads and their constantly metastasising settlements, and there has been no attention at all to the absence of any reference in the 800 pages of the Oslo Accords to the end of the Israeli occupation, which is not even mentioned as a fact on the ground for 29 years.

I recall that after Oslo II was signed last year I appeared on a television news and discussion programme in which I made some of these points, which were then raised by the moderator with Dennis Ross, also on the programme, who answered laconically that one would have to read the text of Oslo II to judge if I was correct. Typically, the moderator dropped the matter right then and there. What the media has wanted since that time was Arabs who spoke of the Oslo peace process as a desirable, unchangeable thing, not as a deeply flawed, damaging situation for Palestinians whose lives have become qualitatively worse since the process began in 1993.

Clinton has had literally nothing to say about all this, except that he brought peace to the Middle East, a vague, general affirmation that he demonstrated when he summoned Netanyahu, Arafat and King Hussein to Washington for their uneventful (to put it mildly) summit. Warren Christopher, a docile, bureaucratic and radically boring man concentrated on his unproductive work with Hafez El-Assad, who simply went down the listless, sad-faced secretary of state; in addition, Christopher's Assad experiences earned him the opprobrium and abuse of the Jewish right-wing press and conservative members of Congress.

As to whether real peace is at hand, or whether there is less hostility between Arabs and Israelis today, three years after the Oslo Accords, Clinton doesn't bother to answer. He has let Ross and his little band of stalwarts carry on without so much as an occasional look into the room. The reason, of course, is that Clinton has no interest in foreign affairs, except as they affect US trade; hence his recent pre-occupation with Australia and Asia, and his continued headache with China. The Middle East is therefore a stabilised, pacified place, especially since American dominance is assured, along with never-ending oil supplies.

Clinton's choice of Madeleine Albright — now being scrutinised closely by Arab politicians and experts for shadowy clues as to her sympathy for the Arab position — does absolutely nothing to change the existing pattern. Albright has admitted to being an unremarkable intellect, and she is certainly very far from being a creative thinker or possessing strategic vision on matters of policy, although I hasten to add that in my opinion it is impossible to imagine how the American political machine can ever produce a creative thinker. Henry Kissinger I know has the reputation of being some kind of grand heavyweight philosopher, but the merest look at his

record and writings reveals a shrewd, calculating mind only at home in situations where the preponderance of American power makes thought relatively unnecessary. It is difficult to see where in the Middle East, Central and South America, Europe or Asia Kissinger produced much more than a great deal of human suffering and immense advantages for the wealthy and corrupt.

Like Kissinger and Brezhnev, Albright is a product of the foreign policy establishment that was reared on the Cold War and a vast military apparatus whose job it was to frighten Americans into accepting economic sacrifice for delusions of grandeur and of the largely fictitious Russian threat.

Although she was born in Europe, Albright has fashioned herself into a hard-talking, tough, abrasive representative of the post-Cold War United States. I recall earlier this year when she was directly confronted on television with images of Iraqi children dying by the thousands of malnutrition and disease — all of it due to the American policy on sanctions — her rejoinder was that Saddam Hussein was a vicious traitor who deserved what he was getting. At the same time she protested that she was not at all inhuman.

It was also her idea (as a way of gaining favour with the right-wing Republican congressmen who control the House and Senate Foreign Relations Committees) to convince Clinton to fire Boutros Boutros-Ghali who, for reasons entirely unrelated to his solid performance on the job, was portrayed during the presidential campaign as an advocate of something ludicrously called 'world government', and hence as a threat to US sovereignty and security. (Most non-Americans find this kind of bizarre logic difficult to fathom, but, alas, it is all too real.) Beyond that there is very little about Albright to suggest the new directions she will chart for US policy. Because of her background as a refugee from (as she often puts it) Hitler and Stalin, and because of her interest in her native Czechoslovakia, which was the subject of her doctoral dissertation at Columbia, her interests are likely to remain principally European. She appears to be a committed Zionist and to the best of my knowledge has never said anything about the Arabs that indicated either knowledge or interest.

Albright, I think, is altogether more interesting as a symptom of the present impasse in US foreign policy than she is as a thinker or policy-maker in her own right. Three main currents have emerged since George Bush (or one of his speech-writers) coined the empty phrase, 'the new world order'. One is represented by a series of eager new theorists who dangle a clever-sounding, but ultimately superficial, concept before Washington's entranced eyes, go on to write an essay in a magazine like *Foreign Affairs*, and then pry a lot of money out of a publisher for a book on the same subject. In this category belong Francis (the end of history) Fukuyama, whose concept died barely a year after it was born, Samuel (the clash of civilisations) Huntington, who has miraculously managed to keep his phrase alive for longer than anyone else, and Bernard (Jihad versus McWorld) Barber, who is struggling to be better known. All of these aspirants to influence, as well as their disciples, build their theories on US supremacy.

Second are the free-market apostles whose ideas ultimately derive from Milton Friedman and Frederick von Hayek, but whose positions are, in my opinion, much more piously put into practice by the World Bank and every Central Bank trying to protect its economy and currency while further impoverishing its working and peasant classes. Clinton belongs in this school, for which he has had the late Ron Brown and Mickey Kantor as his tireless executive assistants.

Third is the school of believers in a foreign policy run on human rights and democracy principles but there, except for Third World non-governmental organisations trying to get funding from the National Endowment for Democracy (a very untrustworthy, even comic arm of US foreign policy), not many people either inside or outside the US are convinced. There are simply too many contradictions, absurd inconsistencies and glaring abuses in US policy for anyone to believe that a government that has practised genocidal warfare in Indochina, invaded innumerable countries all over the world, subverted Central American governments like Guatemala's, and has run its foreign policy unilaterally as if the world

## Soapbox

## Lifeline for Jerusalem

Last week the secretary-general of the Arab League established the Jerusalem Centre in implementation of a resolution adopted by the League during its September session. The Centre will undertake the documentation, maintenance and restoration of ancient sites and monuments in Jerusalem within the framework of the League secretariat and in a manner which reflects the concern of Arabs and Muslims for the holy city. It will also act to promote liaison between other governmental and non governmental organisations with a similar focus, but which may somehow feel inhibited about entering into direct cooperation with Palestinian, Islamic or Arab governmental organisations.

Certainly it is to be hoped that the founding of the Jerusalem Centre will in time encourage Arab states and regional organisations to establish similar entities for Jerusalem, with mandates similar to that of the Jerusalem Centre. Such organisations would then be able to share the burden of conserving and protecting the heritage of the city.

It would, perhaps, be useful to amend those articles in the statutes of the centre providing for the establishment of popular non-governmental organisations for Jerusalem not only in Arab and Islamic countries, but throughout the world.

As a city, Jerusalem is the focal point for a wide range of interests, drawn from across the political spectrum. Jerusalem, and the preservation of its heritage, has become, in short, a rallying call for all the disparate groups opposed to Zionism and racism.

Establishing non-governmental groups associated with the name of Jerusalem has a number of obvious benefits, not least the fact that they will continue to remind the world of the existence of this holy city as an Arab city, and as a capital of the independent Palestinian state.

This week's Soapbox speaker is a columnist specialised in Palestinian affairs with the opposition newspaper Al-Shaab.



Mahgoub Omar

## To The Editor

## Suez allegations

Sir: Mr Paolo Lombardini raised questions in his letter to you of 9 November about the allegations made by Mr Mohamed Mahran Othman against British forces in 1956.

Classified military files from the period are now declassified and available for researchers to study at the Public Records Office in London. The records show no evidence to support Mr Othman's story of being deliberately blinded by British forces following capture. Indeed, the International Committee of the Red Cross delegate in Port Said wrote to his head-

quarters that he was 'satisfied in all respects' as regards the treatment of Egyptian prisoners.

As for Mr Lombardini's original three questions, there is no evidence that the British forces were in need of corpses. In fact 12 Egyptians with multiple injuries were flown to Britain following the conflict and given corneal grafts as part of their treatment. The records show no evidence of prisoners being flown to Cyprus. To the best of my knowledge Mr Mohamed Mahran Othman has not tried to sue the British government.

Wishing you continuing success in pro-

ducing an excellent newspaper.  
Ed Webb  
press & public affairs  
officer,  
British Embassy,  
Cairo

## US versus Ghali

Sir: From the American point of view, UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali is an old-fashioned diplomat, ill-suited for building bridges to the 21st century. He was a sluggish reformer, weak on management. When he was at the helm of the UN its budget ran over more than 20 per cent since 1991. But all

these allegations are fragile and refutable.

However, I wish the US had announced the genuine reasons behind its stance vis-à-vis Ghali. If not for the hushed UN report on the grisly massacre at Qana, the US would have considered Ghali worthy of a second term. Instead, the US wants to marginalise the role of the UN and become the sole sturdy policeman on this planet.

But the world community is fed up with this US hegemony. This policy will expose the US to the indignation and retaliatory counteraction of the world at large.  
Mahmoud Elewa,  
Victory College,  
Manshi

## Ghali won

Sir: Your articles about Ghali's election for a second term and the war waged by the US to force him to quit his job, moved me to write these few words in a bid to mirror the man on the street's opinion.

There's no question that Ghali's personality and deeds have been such that the majority of nations all over the world rushed to grant him the support needed in his war against the forces of injustice. This war was viciously waged in reaction to Ghali's position vis-à-vis the Qana massacre. Ghali's role would

have to be, in US eyes, deaf and blind before these deliberate human rights violations.

But Ghali decided not to bend before the storm. He insisted on standing fast and resisting. If Ghali had ignored this massacre, the UN would have compromised its credibility and effectiveness.

Even though Ghali has not got a second term in office, we, as a great deal of international support and respect, Hassan Albert Lahib,  
Faculty of Education,  
El-Minia University



# Down in the street

**David Blake**  
prefers more than a  
twist of lemon

Cairo Symphony Orchestra; Gamal Abdel-Rehim, Variations on a Folkloric Theme; Rachmaninov, Concerto No 2 in C minor for Piano & Orchestra, op. 18, soloist Andrei Diev; Brahms Symphony No 2 in D major op. 73; conductor Ahmed El-Saedi, Cairo Opera House, Main Hall, 7 December

Paris: Ramzi Yassa, the pianist scheduled for this concert, injured a finger and is forced to cancel.

Cairo: Little did we expect the big surprise that greeted us on entering the Opera House. Andrei Diev from Moscow would play instead. And so, with the Abdel-Rehim folkloric variations for large orchestra, one of the most exciting concerts of the year opened.

Not a full house, but an audience large enough to make the right noises as they began to show their pleasure at a unique surprise event.

Abdel-Rehim's Variations are popular. The music is dense, sharply metaphoric, has wit and can also let loose striking power. A good time commences this short journey through improvisational jobs of sound. And each job is meaningful, with a sting in the tail. It builds to a darkly prophetic climax — not noisy, not repetitive and, unlike so much other contemporary music, not empty. It is loaded with warnings, and then, rather aloof, withdraws and moves off. We are left having visited the oracle, message delivered, as mysterious as ever.

Next came Rachmaninov No. 2. Since childhood pianists have swept by us playing it like dragons amid washes of gorgeous blood-chilling noise. Is it music? Was it a piano? Do hands do those sort of things? It is bad, sad, chilling, uplifting. Worlds topple.

That, of course, was the point of Rachmaninov — he was a master of the topple. Only Wagner was better at it. Tristan moves through this No. 2, this love-hate thing of which the insolent Sergei was probably astounded. How did Diev use his quite incredible power to deliver the music? He did it cleanly, photogenically, and without fuss.

The No. 2 belongs to everyone and is replete with memories, of the composer himself playing to Richter and beyond. You can choose your player. Diev's approach was neither academic nor grande dame. What he did was a sort of in-the-blood thing, erasing all banalities.

He and Saedi put it in its place without shame. No updating. They both swash-buckled their way through it, like Napoleonic generals in a battle charge. Flashes of gold against dark uniforms — then into scented rooms where heavily-fleshed beauties, like the Sargent painting of the Werther sister, nestle in crimson velvet and diamonds, comfortable in the imperial cocoon before it exploded, blood and flame, right



Rachmaninov

in the appalled face of the world. At the opera, almost a century later, some listeners did not sit back comfortably but perched on the edge of their seats.

Diev gave opulence, which is strange, since there is so much opulence about. But it costs. Christmas is almost here and the No. 2 concerto, as played by Diev, is like standing in slushy snow looking into the window of a great jeweller. Lovely Christmas baubles but too little money to buy.

Diev's athletic power, though, permitted him, at least, to deliver a clean-cut, diamond glistening version, leaving

too little time for vain chatter. He peeped into the chasm and together we could appreciate the poisonous allure, rippling like the notes and demonic octaves he produced. The player blazed in the far from flattering light he turned on the music.

The concert moved to Brahms and his second symphony in D major, opus 73. It's late night, the dead of night, cold and silent. Someone has just slipped a note under the door. Brahms is not dead. He is alive and in the streets. Four movements it says in the programme, three allegros with one adagio jammed in the middle. Brahms is in a hurry. He

to defeat the lot of them and sing brightly, making the best of it. Another symphony to hang on the line. And so we ground the bend with big Jo at the helm.

El-Saedi and the Cairo Symphony, never noisy, never heavy, never rancid or stale, but butter and lemon, with plenty of the latter.

Does anyone like this man, Brahms? Suddenly he is fashionable and soon the biographers will have their teeth into him. But Brahms has gone into the streets. And he's fooling everyone, down there, in the streets, where he began, where all true fashion begins.

## Art

### On the move

**Nigel Ryan on the twists and turns of a mini-retrospective devoted to Margo Veillon**

Margo Veillon has been painting for more than 70 years, a simple fact that makes the organisation of anything that purports to be a retrospective — however mini — a daunting task. Yet for the last few weeks this is precisely what has been showing in the wonderfully inadequate space of the Ewart Gallery, a mini-retrospective of the work of seven decades, hanging in what in reality is no more than an amply proportioned corridor.

So where to begin, given the severe limitations on space? Well, the obvious place to start is at the beginning, in the late twenties. The exhibition opens with a small selection of drawings and paintings made in Paris and Cairo, between 1929-32, which — if they are to be termed apprentice pieces, something intended to be far from disparaging — manage nonetheless to display many of the concerns to which the artist has returned, almost obsessively, in later years.

The tilting perspectives of the more architectural sketches — the Place de l'Opera drawing for instance, or the strangely distorted door in the interior scene of a woman sitting on the edge of her bed — reappear later, diagonally opposite, in a group of paintings from the late eighties, in which Veillon fastidiously dissects views of the room in which she was then working. The two paintings of the studio included in this show, drawn from an extended series of studies, both include portraits of the artist, one positively heroic, the second smaller, the figure distorted around a single still point, the brush in the artist's hand.

It is a feat of imagination to view yourself from above, expanded around a little wooden stick, a tilt of sable at one end, held in the right hand. And while it is true that the startling perspective here becomes something of a conceit, the point of the conceit is less a declaration of cleverness than the articulation of a de-

ceptively simple truth: it is around this point, this focus — the tip of the paint brush — that the artist's world revolves.

Not that one can ignore the cleverness of the painting. Margo Veillon, after 70 years of continuous work, has every right to know things. Here, after all, and despite an enviably fluid technique, is a very cerebral art. It is analytical, and even in the most apparently spontaneous of works never makes recourse to the naive. That particular spurious safe-harbour Margo Veillon has studiously avoided throughout her career.

The pieces collected together in the current show are all from the artist's own collection. As a consequence, what is being presented — after taking into account the obvious limitations on space — is what the artist herself considers most representative of her oeuvre. There are some obvious choices. Two wonderful 1949 landscapes of the desert, tiny paintings in impasto, saturated primaries, are included alongside later, larger reworkings of the same scenes. It is a well-trodden path, this reworking of plein-air studies into much larger canvases completed in the studio. And as is almost inevitable, the spanking brand-new immediacy of the smaller pieces is lost, concealed beneath other, more abstract concerns in the larger, studio bound paintings.

The painter, like the traveller, must find the desert the most unforgiving of all landscapes. Margo Veillon has adopted many gambits in his portrayal, including the mixing of sand with oil paint (included in the current exhibition is an eerie depiction, from 1981, of the lunar landscapes of the White Desert) though more often than not her

success lies in seeing and describing the colours of what is all too often assumed to be a monochrome environment. The purples, the viridians, the unadulterated reds, they are all there, in the desert, waiting to surprise. And like the desert Margo Veillon's best work hides its time, holding its surprises, its sudden illuminations, in check.

There is an anecdote, concerning one of her drawings, of which I am fond. Visiting an old friend some years ago, an acquaintance of mine peered intently at a drawing hanging on the wall of his host's study. He recognised the drawing, knew that it was by Margo Veillon, and wondered out loud when it had been acquired, only to be told that he had in fact given

the drawing, as a wedding present, some 20 years earlier. Unfortunately the joys of giving, as opposed to receiving, could not quite prevent the person in question from kicking himself for ever having parted with something so good. The moral of the tale, however, is less a warning about the dangers of compulsive generosity than a confirmation of the power of good art to seem always somehow new.

There are two large paintings in the exhibition — both figure studies — both with two dates. One, dated 1967 and 1990, is a study of sugar cane cutters; the second, dated 1959 and 1990, takes a group of musicians as its subject. Both compositions are incredibly fluid studies of movement, the first constructed of gestural brush strokes in carefully measured tonalities, the second — a far more linear composition — is stunner, depending on draughtsmanship rather than on colour. But both have continued to exert their fascination on the artist who produced them, to the extent that they were both 'finished' almost 30 years after they were begun.

Margo Veillon, it seems, is as capable, decades after the event, of being taken by surprise by her own work as anyone else. And despite the unrelenting analysis, despite that most judicious eye, even she finds something new to do. Little surprise, then, that those works, the paintings that, over 70 years, she has decided to keep, should prove so difficult to pin down. For just like the person holding the brush that is the still centre of the dissolving studio, just like the artist herself, they refuse to sit still.

Margo Veillon



Margo Veillon

## Listings

### EXHIBITIONS

**Gazbia Serry**  
Egyptian Centre for International Cultural Cooperation, 11 Shagaret El-Dar St. Zamilak Tel 541 5419. Until 19 Dec.  
Watercolours by one of Egypt's leading contemporary artists.

**Margo Veillon**  
Ewart Gallery, Main Campus, AUC, El-Sheikh Rihan St. Tel 557 5436. Daily 9am-5pm. Until 19 Dec.

**The Portrait Photography of Van Lee**  
Sany Gallery, Main Campus, AUC, El-Sheikh Rihan St. Tel 557 5436. Daily 9am-5pm. Until 19 Dec.

**Wageeh Wahba**  
Mediaweb Gallery, 8 Champollion St. off Tahrir St. Tel 578 4494. Daily 11am-5pm. Until 19 Dec.

**Emat Dawoud**  
Masrah Gallery, 8 Champollion St. off Tahrir St. Tel 578 4494. Daily 11am-5pm. Until 19 Dec.

**Amant Zahran Salama (Paintings)**  
Cairo Atelier, 2 Karim El-Dawla St. Tahrir. Tel 574 6730. Daily 9am-5pm. Until 20 Dec.

**Haramiya Arts**  
Sany Gallery, 8 Rd 776, Golf Area, Heliopolis. Tel 551 4362. Daily 9am-5pm. Until 20 Dec.

**Barry Iverson (Photographs)**  
Cairo Atelier, 2 Karim El-Dawla St. Tahrir. Tel 574 6730. Daily 9am-5pm. Until 20 Dec.

**Maja Seric (Paintings)**  
Rahab Gallery, 8 Rd 776, Golf Area, Heliopolis. Tel 551 4362. Daily 9am-5pm. Until 20 Dec.

**Hanan Abdalla (Pastels)**  
Cairo Opera House, Opera House Grounds, 20 Dec.

**Lina Blach Arribera (Engravings)**  
Indian Cultural Centre, 3 El-Sheikh El-Masry St. Zamilak. Tel 540 8791. Daily 9am-5pm. Until 20 Dec.

**The Life and Writings of Gertrude Bell**  
British Council Gallery, 192 El-Nil St. Agouza. Tel 301 0319. Daily 9am-5pm. Until 30 Dec.

**Time Modest (Photographs)**  
Spanish Cultural Centre, 20 Boules Hanna St. Dokki. Tel 300 1746. Daily 9am-5pm. Until 30 Dec.

**International Exhibition of Miniatures**  
Zahab Gallery, 8 Rd 776, Golf Area, Heliopolis. Tel 551 4362. Daily 9am-5pm. Until 30 Dec.

**Abd Al-Aziz Mohamed (Paintings)**  
Ewart Gallery, Main Campus, AUC, El-Sheikh Rihan St. Tel 557 5436. Daily 9am-5pm. Until 30 Dec.

**AUC Student Photographs**  
Jameel Center Gallery, Grand Campus, AUC, El-Sheikh Rihan St. Tel 557 5436. Daily 9am-5pm. Until 30 Dec.

**Ussama Mohamed (Glassworks) & Abdel-Nasser Shihab (Bauk)**  
Extra Gallery, 3 El-Nasr St. Corner of Hassan St. Zamilak. Tel 340 6293. Daily 9am-5pm. Until 30 Dec.

**Hassan Ali Ahmed**  
Egypco Gallery, 1 El-Sheikh St. Downtown. Tel 393 1699. Daily 9am-5pm. Until 30 Dec.

**Art Fair**  
Donia Gallery, 20 Abdel-Aziz Ghewish St. across Mohamed Mahmoud St. Doctors' Tower, no. 405. Tel 353 8367. Daily 9am-5pm. Until 9 Jan.

**Sixth Cairo International Biennale**  
Cairo Opera House, second floor, Opera House Grounds, 20 Dec.

**The Museum of Mr and Mrs Mohamed Mahmoud Khalil**  
1 Kfour El-Akhdid St. Dokki. Tel 336 2376. Daily 9am-5pm. Until 15 March.

**Egyptian Museum**  
Tahrir St. Downtown. Tel 575 4319. Daily 9am-5pm. Fri 9am-11pm. Sun 11am-5pm.

**Coptic Museum**  
Mar Gergis, Old Cairo. Tel 363 8766. Daily 9am-5pm. Fri 9am-11pm. Sun 11am-5pm.

**Islamic Museum**  
Fort Saad St. Ahmed Maher St. Bab El-Khalig. Tel 590 9380/9381. Daily 9am-5pm. Fri 9am-11pm. Sun 11am-5pm.

**El-Husseini Museum**  
El-Husseini St. Heliopolis. Tel 550 0254. Daily 12.30pm-3.30pm. 6.30pm-9.30pm. Tahrir, 112 Tahrir St. Dokki. Tel 335 3726. Daily 3pm-6pm & 9pm.

**Independence Day**  
125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

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El-Husseini St. Heliopolis. Tel 550 0254. Daily 12.30pm-3.30pm. 6.30pm-9.30pm. Tahrir, 112 Tahrir St. Dokki. Tel 335 3726. Daily 3pm-6pm & 9pm.

**Independence Day**  
125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 4



As the curtains go down on the 20th Cairo International Film Festival, Al-Ahram Weekly spotlights the awards and the honorees

## 20th Cairo International Film Festival: Awards

**The Golden Pyramid Award for Best Film:** *Al-Tuffaha* (The Apple), dir. Rashaad El-Mahmoud, Egypt  
**Award for Best Director:** Pantelis Voulgaris, Greece  
**Award for Best Actor:** Abu Bakr Ezat, for his role in *Al-Mara'a Wal-Satour* (The Woman and the Cleaver), Egypt  
**Award for Best Actress:** Julia Jager, *Outside Time*  
**Award for Best Screenplay:** Franck Beyer, St Nicholas Church, Germany

**Silver Pyramid Award:** *Marhaban Ya Ibn El-Am* (Salut Cousin), dir. Mirzak Uthman, Algeria  
**Special Jury Award:** Andreas Klei-ner, director of *Outside Time*, Germany  
**Best Arabic Film Award:** *Haifa*, dir. Rashid Mashharawi, Palestine  
**Naghib Mahfouz Award for Best Directorial Debut:** Sandrine Voyasse, dir. *Will it Snow this Christmas?*, France



Leila Eloni in *Al-Tuffaha* (The Apple), winner of the Golden Pyramid Award

# Acting on conviction

Amal El-Sherif speaks to Russian director Nikita Mikhalkov — past-winner of the Palme d'Or at Cannes and honoree of the 20th CIFF — about hamburgers, meat balls and other cinematic dishes

Here as one of the honorees of the 20th Cairo International Film Festival (CIFF), Russian director Nikita Mikhalkov is no stranger to the international festival circuit. Long a favourite director in Russia, Mikhalkov's winning of the Palme d'Or in Cannes a few years ago simply confirmed his international reputation as a director.

Initially, Mikhalkov studied theatre before launching into a career as a film director and actor. Mikhalkov himself does not see this as a major transition or turning point in his career.

"My film studies followed the conventional pattern of training in Russia," he says, "where aspiring film directors receive a grounding in both theatre and cinema studies. And yes, I suppose theatre did influence my directorial style in that a well-wrought scenario is very important to me, as is the movement of camera."

Mikhalkov — a noted actor as well as director — does not see any contradiction between the two roles.

"I see cinema as a multi-faceted art, so it was only natural that I should act, write scenarios and finally direct my own films," he explains. There are some stories, he says, that you feel tempted to present according to your own vision. He also felt the need "to address social problems of relevance to the man next door — problems tackled in *A Quiet Day at the End of the War* (1973) and *Prisoner of Love* (1976)."

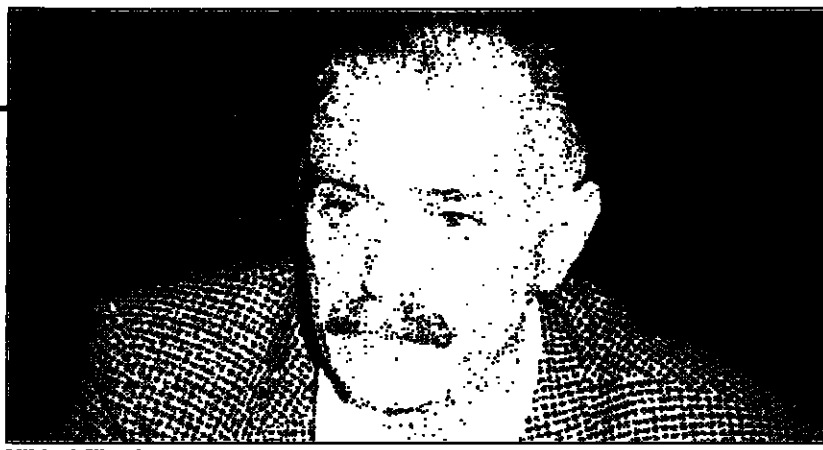
He cites, among the reasons why he decided to move behind the camera rather than before it, the temptation to adapt Russian literary works, particularly Chekhov, for the screen. Nevertheless, his experiences as an actor, he

adds, have given him, as a director, a greater understanding of how to give guidance and communicate instructions to those who perform in his films.

Asked how he explained the fact that the collapse of the Soviet Union did not affect his work, Mikhalkov grows restless. In his opinion, he says, social systems should not affect artists and their stance on life. "If my attitudes had changed after the collapse of the Soviet Union, this would have meant that I had been deceitful, or that I had become deceitful. In reality I have always discussed, and with great liberty, pressing and controversial issues in my films, regardless of the regime. It is only as a Russian citizen that the recent changes have affected me, but my vision as an artist has not changed." He does concede, however, that Russian cinema is currently passing through a crisis, caused primarily by lack of funds and problems of distribution.

Still, he will not countenance the charge, commonly heard against the Russian films, that their screenplays are less appealing than their American counterparts. "The Russian scenario," he says, "is like Russian minced meat balls: it's a cinematic concoction that reflects the Russian national character, in the same way that Egyptian films reflect the national dish of *foul*. And American cinema? That does not really reflect any specific national flavour, but is closer in nature to hamburgers: a flavoursome meal of sex, thrills and violence," he says.

Carried away by his culinary imagery, Mikhalkov



Nikita Mikhalkov

takes the analogy a step further.

"American cinema is invading the world in the same way that McDonalds has invaded the capitals of the world." But the beginning of the end of Russian cinema, as he puts it, would be to try and imitate American films, as do some young Russian directors. To Mikhalkov, the human element in films is all important. He views his own work as an anatomy of the Russian soul — the glory of which it is capable, as well as its paradoxes and contradictions.

How does Mikhalkov explain the trend towards emigration among Russian scientists and artists? The question appears to be a *faux pas*. "It's as if you're asking me why I still live in Russia! I'm sure there are problems in

Egypt, so why don't you leave the country?" he exclaims. Then, more seriously: "Yes, the phenomenon exists, yes Russian scientists and artists are emigrating, because of all the difficult circumstances in Russia. Myself, I am an artist and every artist nurtures the dream of improving conditions in his homeland." Others who have made the choice of leaving Russia, he says, should ask themselves until when they will remain on the run.

Given the wide acclaim Mikhalkov's films have received in the form of awards at both Russian and international festivals, the latest being the CIFF, how has that affected his work?

"I don't work with awards on my mind. If ever I were to ask myself why I work, I wouldn't find an answer. Could you ask the birds why they sing on the trees?"

But he says he is happy to have attended the CIFF, "which I know to be the biggest film festival in the region, and thus being honoured by it is flattering." The CIFF, he adds, has also given him the chance to watch Egyptian films which he finds have a likeness with Russian cinema — not least in their melodrama.

## Change of direction

Hani Mustafa interviews Rashid Mashharawi and Mohamed Bakri, director and lead actor of *Haifa*, selected as best Arabic film at this year's festival

The work of Palestinian director Rashid Mashharawi must now be familiar to Cairo film festival-goers. At last year's CIFF, Mashharawi's *Hatta Ishharin Akhar* (Curfew) won the Golden Pyramid Award, and at this, the 20th festival, *Haifa* has garnered the Best Arabic Film Award. Established to mark UNESCO's choice of Cairo as this year's cultural capital of the region, the award will nevertheless remain as one of the fixed competition categories in coming CIFFs.

Much of the political content of Mashharawi's films draws on the director's own experience; he was born in Mukhlayyem Al-Shati'e, Gaza, in 1962. Mohamed Bakri who plays the lead, Haifa, was born near Acre in 1953, and carries an Israeli passport. Although Bakri's previous experience as an actor includes a role in Costa Gavras' *Hanna K*, he considers himself primarily a theatre actor. Having studied theatre at Tel Aviv University, Bakri directed three mono-dramas based on novels by Emile Habibi, Hanna Mina and El-Tayyeb Salahi.

While Mashharawi has mostly shied away from crude political allegorisation in *Haifa*, the beginning and the end of the film deliberately foreground its political content. The film begins with a car which is almost a wreck. The damaged hero Haifa (Bakri) is in the driver's seat, singing. In the last sequence of the film Haifa finds himself standing at a crossroads, having to choose between the road down which his aunt's funeral procession is going and that along which celebrations are being held for Palestinian Authority, which has just entered Gaza.

Between the beginning and the end of the film, political signifiers are more subtle, tempered with a

hint of black humour. There is, for example, the motto reiterated by the hero (or perhaps one should say anti-hero): "Jaffa, Haifa, Akka [Acre]". To Mashharawi, Haifa (the character) "represents the past and the face of memory". Yet it is not an elegiac memory portrayed by Bakri in the part of Haifa.



Above: Director Rashid Mashharawi; left: Mohamed Bakri in one of the scenes of *Haifa*

"What drew me to the character," he says, "was this passion and joy in the face of reality. Haifa has this abiding love for Haifa [the city], Acre, Jaffa and the people of the refugee camps. It is this love and joy that rupture the sad climate and false peace," says Bakri.

But for Bakri to master the portrayal of the damaged Haifa and his ravings was no easy task. In search of a model for the character, he went to an asylum in Bethlehem, which

he visited on a daily basis. "Finally I met an inmate called Abu Maged who seemed perfect as a model," says Bakri. "Abu Maged, who is illiterate, had fallen in love with a beautiful, educated girl in his neighbourhood. When she accepted his marriage proposal he lost his mind. One of his tasks was to take every now and then: 'What do you do for a living?' I copied his tone for Haifa's call: 'Jaffa, Haifa, Akka [Acre],'" explains Bakri.

Apart from Haifa, the film depicts the lives of a family living in refugee camps, a setting that allows for an historical contextualisation of the Palestinian situation, seen through the various generations of the family. But given the accent Mashharawi wants to place on political dissonance and discord, the screenplay moves in a non-sequential manner and there are often



false notes and disturbing repetitions in the music.

Given the film's strong note of discontent about the political status quo in Palestine, were there any objections from the censors?

ter future. Injustice is not everlasting. The present situation will not last forever. Maybe we won't be there to see this brighter future, but our children will."

"Not at all," says Mashharawi. "I didn't have to submit the scenario to anyone. And, in fact, the Palestinian Ministry of Culture offered invaluable help while we were filming. Besides, the present political climate in Palestine is very different from that under which *Curfew* was made."

And while the crossroads image upon which the film ends would tempt the viewer to conclude that Mashharawi condemns the so-called Peace Process, the director himself does not endorse this interpretation.

"The last sequence of the film does not offer any closure," suggests Mashharawi. "I was not offering solutions but posing questions. The Palestinian Authority is not very different from the Palestinian people. If there is a state of siege, well we are all besieged. The questions gnawing at the vast majority of Palestinians may well be the same questions gnawing at Yasser Arafat — we're all in the same boat."

Somewhat more definitive in his answers, Bakri sees the two roads down which Haifa peers as distinct options: the rashly triumphant and the funeral. But neither option is for him: "I was born for a better future. Injustice is not everlasting. The present situation will not last forever. Maybe we won't be there to see this brighter future, but our children will."

## Diary of a film-goer In which Hossam Elwan does not receive an invitation to the closing ceremony and frayed tempers result in fistcuffs

Wednesday, 11 December

At 1pm I go to watch the Algerian film *Machoko*, directed by Bisseem Haggag. The film's plot would be familiar to any Arab audience: a father sets out to avenge himself on the young man who has seduced his daughter. In his quest, the father leads his family into dire straits, while meantime, in any case, the young man has returned to marry the daughter. But father insists on his revenge, the young man is killed, and, hey presto, the family is destitute.

In terms of structure, scenario and editing, the film is simplistic, but the landscapes, and the mountains, in which the action occurs are magnificent. The film, in Berber, is subtitled in English. But the audience at the Small Hall — supposedly the intellectual elite — remains rowdy and insists on giving a sarcastic running commentary. This suddenly comes to seem doubly ironic when I learn that the film won the Audience Award at the Montpellier Film Festival.

Between 4 and 5pm I attempt to gain access to a screening of the Egyptian film *Al-Tuffaha* (The Apple). Security, unfortunately, bars journalists from entering the auditorium and tempers become frayed. I abandon the attempt at the onset of fistcuffs, only to witness members of the jury being smuggled in through the back door of the Small Hall.

At 5pm the seminar on Arab cinema begins, after a delay of some four hours spent waiting for the panelists, some of

whom don't turn up anyway.

At 6pm *Al-Tuffaha* is screened simultaneously at Al-Hanager and the Small Hall, thanks to the rumpus created by those journalists who had earlier been unable to gain entry. In one of the two auditoriums the screening is stopped while a tear in the film is fixed; seizing the opportunity, a large section of the audience which had earlier fought to be admitted, sneaks out.

At 9pm festivities for Naghib Mahfouz' 85th birthday begin with the directors of the Mexican versions of *The Beginning and the End* and *Midag Alley* in attendance. While the celebrations are taking place, security attempts a repeat performance of yesterday. This time, however, the journalists win the day. *Al-Mara'a Wal-Satour* (The Woman and the Cleaver) is about to begin, security attempts a repeat performance of yesterday. This time, however, the journalists win the day. *Al-Mara'a Wal-Satour* is a police film with stereotypical characters that no amount of goodwill can make interesting.

Friday, 13 December  
 I attend the 10am screening of the Russian film *The Insulted and the Humiliated*, directed by Andrei Eshtopy, based on a novel by Dostoevsky. The film stars Nastassia Kinski and the renowned Russian director Nikita Mikhalkov. The film has been preceded by its reputation, which is such that the increasingly fidgety audience remains loath to leave.

Mohamed Zarn's first full length feature film. Technically unsophisticated, the film nevertheless has a complex structure. An artist who feels claustrophobic within his emotional relationship with a young woman is increasingly drawn to a boy from a popular quarter. The artist's decision to move to the quarter precipitates a series of ruptures within the social structures there — and the boy ends up dead, though whether he has been murdered remains unclear. The artist recedes from the scene, leaving behind him a mural depicting the quarter. Later, when the screening of Egyptian film *Al-Mara'a Wal-Satour* (The Woman and the Cleaver) is about to begin, security attempts a repeat performance of yesterday. This time, however, the journalists win the day. *Al-Mara'a Wal-Satour* is a police film with stereotypical characters that no amount of goodwill can make interesting.

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Thursday, 12 December  
 At 10am I see *Al-Sayyida* (The Lady), Tunisian director

in the Small Hall. Mashharawi who has worked on the mise-en-scene of several films, now lives in Holland where he has his own production company. Haifa is both the title of the film and the name of the protagonist. Rashid's work is not the sort that creates or broaches dilemmas to be resolved; rather, it is low-key and intimate. He is particularly skilled at weaving the ambience of secret assignations — glances through windows, the stolen moments of togetherness — into a resonant tale. With exceptional acting from Mohamed Bakri in the lead, the film was deservedly popular with festival-goers.

After watching *Haifa*, I try to procure an invitation to the festival closing ceremony. For the fourth time I go to the press centre where I am told that Saeed Wahba himself does not take the invitations. I realise I'm not going to attend the closing ceremony.

Saturday, 14 December  
 The Austrian film, *Land of Dreams*, part of the Naghib Mahfouz competition, is being screened at 10am. The French film *Will it Snow this Christmas*, eventually wins the Mahfouz award. Unfortunately it never received a press screening in the Small Hall.

Sunday, 15 December  
 Though the festival officially closed yesterday, screenings continue in the Small Hall. I do not go.

## Plain Talk

One of the main attractions of the 20th Cairo International Film Festival (CIFF) was the screening of a documentary entitled *Umm Kulthum, the Voice of Egypt*. I felt really elated watching that magnificent recording of the life and art of that great Egyptian singer. Because the film was not a feature production, it was shown outside competition, nor was it included in the programme of press screenings.

My guess, however, is that the documentary was seen by as many viewers as those who watched the widely publicised feature films in competition. The documentary's popularity was such that Saeed Wahba, the president of the festival, promised to have it shown again later, and many members of the audience were heard muttering that television should really screen the film during Ramadan.

Let me make a confession: to the majority of the audience, myself among them, it was the nostalgia, as much as the voice, that moved us quite literally to tears. But it was also salutary to watch the young, initiated, beyond the magnificence of Umm Kulthum's voice, into the national events to which she bore witness, let alone participated in.

More than just a biography of the diva, it is a saga of the modern history of Egypt, more or less from the time of the ascendancy to the throne of King Farouk until the death of the singer in 1975. No wonder the director and producer of the film gave it the subtitle *The Voice of Egypt*. Indeed, Umm Kulthum's songs were always there at every national transition, lyrically commenting on events. To old-timers like myself, her role in boosting the country's morale after the 1967 defeat, when the Arab front disintegrated, is unforgettable. Umm Kulthum had the courage, conviction and confidence to travel to a number of Arab countries including Tunisia, which, during that time, severed diplomatic relations with Egypt. Such visits were not merely for fund-raising, but were meant to assert Egypt's position as the leading Arab country. Old footage included in the documentary shows Umm Kulthum being met by the president and his wife. Her reception by the Tunisians was such that they had to be cordoned off by the police for her protection.

With its rich mix of documentary, live footage and interviews, the film must have taken the director/producer tremendous time and effort to research and put together so coherently. And we get to hear some interesting anecdotes. After 1952, some members of the Revolutionary Command Council gave instructions that any broadcasts of Umm Kulthum songs be stopped, since she had previously performed for King Farouk. But when Gamal Abdel-Nasser heard of this decision he annulled the order saying that "Umm Kulthum is the voice of Egypt, which cannot be silenced." To further confirm his admiration of her, he attended her recitals, which always took place on the first Thursday of the month.

The film traces the development of Umm Kulthum and the way she adapted her songs to events. Apart from classical composers like El-Sonbat, she invited then-younger composers like Baligh Hamed, Kamel El-Tawil and Mohamed El-Mougi to compose for her. She must have realised that she could no longer bank on her older, more conservative, audience. Here, once again, she showed the same astuteness with which she approached all her decisions.

Watching the concerts she gave, you relived the atmosphere of awe, or rather sanctity, that reigned on the auditorium: the breathless silence that fell on the hall while she sang and then the clamour and ovation which followed every pause. There was a beautiful response from the audience and a loving feeling emerged between them and her. While one cannot help comparing that intimate artistic relationship to the rough atmosphere at concerts today, it was with pleasure that I noted that the audience at the screening reacted to her songs with something of the enthralled dignity of past days.

But let me put my cards on the table: having played a role, albeit a small one, in the realisation of *Umm Kulthum, the Voice of Egypt*, I have reason to take pride in the finished product. When Michelle Goldmann came to Egypt, I was one of the first people she met and I did all I could to put her in touch with people who could help her with her project. One thing I could not manage was to find an Egyptian to finance the film — a great pity that. I think it is shameful that the Egyptian participation in this film was restricted to interviews and providing old footage. On the other hand, it is heartening to find an American so fascinated by our great singer that she managed, through perseverance, to produce such a magnificent film.

Mursi Saad El-Din



## A 30 million-year journey

Minerals, meteors and early man are some of the Geological Museum features. Sherine Nasr investigates

Visiting the geological museum is an exciting experience, particularly if you use a little imagination. It is a journey 30 million years back in time, to see the ancestors of today's elephants, whales, apes and wolves. Also on display is a wide range of precious stones and minerals that were later mined by the Pharaohs.

The story goes back in geological time, when a river, known as "the Ur-Nile," flowed northward from what is now known as El-Bahariya Oasis towards the Sea of Thesus in the Fayoum depression. This river has now disappeared, but its path has been traced by satellites. "Favourable conditions for living were created in this area. Tropical forests grew on both banks of the old Nile, and fishes, birds and amphibians lived there," said Youssri Attiya, a geologist at the museum.

Had it not been for a sudden natural disaster, the skeletons of these animals might not have survived. "But the animals were quickly buried so they did not decay and their bones were kept intact," said Attiya. These bones, studied by geologists, show that Egypt was extremely rich in fauna. "Eleven orders can be traced, from which various species emerged. The breeding ground was first in the Fayoum," he explained.

Later, mammals, considered very advanced species of animals, emerged. "Among these were elephants, carnivores, hippopotami and apes whose motherland was Egypt," said Attiya.

The history of apes is perhaps the most interesting. A prominent place has been set aside in the museum for the skulls of five ape-men, representing different periods of development. The first was discovered in 1948. "Its lower jaw and number of teeth are the same as in human beings. It lived almost 20 million years ago and is thought by geologists to be the 'missing link' between man and ape," said Attiya. Later, in the sixties, a skull of an earlier ape-man, who lived 30 million years ago, was discovered north of Lake Qaron. It was given the name "Aegyptopithecus" or Egypt's ape.

Later, Neolithic man produced stone vessels to preserve food, a scythe to cut plants and spears to hunt animals. The skull of Pithecanthropus, a pre-historic man who lived 500,000 years ago, is also on display.

He was the first to use fire. He was also taller, more developed and more ferocious than previous evolution. "Some of his vessels were made from the bones of his fellow man-apes," said Attiya.

As time passed, special rituals were developed to bury the dead, interring them in fetal position.

The most recent skull depicts Cro-Magnon man, "a good-looking, tall creature, with proportional muscles and a skull equal in size to modern man's. His tools were more variable. They were neatly made of ivory and animal bones. He was the first to draw pictures of the animals in his cave as a religious ritual before he went to hunt," said Attiya.

Each of these skulls is accompanied by a picture which reconstructs what these ape-men and prehistoric men may have looked like. "This is not pure imagination. Studying the muscles, geologists have been able to reconstruct the facial characteristics," said Mohamed El-Bedier, director of the museum.

A whole section in the museum is devoted to the tools used by prehistoric man. Among the artifacts are small bone plates, knives, arrows heads, an axe with slightly rounded wings for a handle, a polished axe of reindeer bone and a bone needle. Some vessels are ornamented with pictures of elephants and wolves.

The most complete skeleton on display dates back 40 million years, and is an ancestor of the elephant. It is hard to identify the skeleton as that of an elephant, because it has no trunk and is significantly smaller than today's version. "This is how they looked before they adapted to new environmental conditions," explained Attiya.

Skeletons of more modern elephants, found in the upper strata of the land, display incisors that later developed into tusks. "This elephant lived east of the El-Qattara depression and south of Alamein. It was the

closest to today's elephant," said Attiya who went on to explain that the elephants migrated to Palestine, Iraq and finally Siberia, where unfavourable weather conditions made them move south again to India, Saudi Arabia, Sinai and Fayoum, their homeland. "Excavations in Fayoum have, therefore, yielded an elephant that is 40 million years old and another that is only one million years old," he said.

"Another skeleton is of an extinct animal — the Arsinotherium, or Fayoum animal. It had the body of a rhinoceros, feet like an elephant and teeth that resembled those of a rock rabbit," said Attiya.

Samples of the various stones and minerals found in Egypt are also displayed in the museum. These have been extracted from the Eastern Desert and Sinai, two of the richest geological sites on earth," said El-Bedier. "There are approximately 99 gold mines in the area, all of which were discovered and exploited by the Ancient Egyptians."

A large collection of precious stones, including emeralds, turquoise, peridot, malakite and alabaster, are also on view, as well as three meteorites from outer space. One was found in Esna in 1970, the other in a small village called El-Nekhila in El-Behira Governorate in the Delta, while the third was found in El-Farafra Oasis. "Great attention is now being given to the El-Nekhila meteorite because it is one of three, worldwide, that are strongly believed to be from Mars," said El-Bedier.

A fragment of a rock from the Taurus-Littrow Valley of the moon, given to the museum in 1973, completes its outer space collection.

How to get there:

The museum is on the Corniche Road leading to Maadi. It is three minutes' walk from Al-Zahra metro station and open daily apart from Fridays. Admission free.



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Photos: Sherif Sobhy

## How to get there

### Buses

Super Jet, East Delta and West Delta buses operate throughout Egypt.

### Super Jet

Super Jet stations are located in Almazra (Heliopolis), Tahrir, Giza, Ramsis Street and Cairo Airport. Buses travel to Alexandria, Port Said, Hurgada and Sinai. Tel. 772-663.

### Cairo-Alexandria

Servings almost every half hour from 5.30am to 10pm, from Tahrir, then Giza, Almazra and the airport. Tickets LE19 until 9pm; LE21 thereafter; from the airport LE24 until 5pm; LE30 thereafter.

A VIP bus with phone screen, leaves Almazra at 7.15am. Tickets from Almazra LE28; from the airport LE32 each way.

### Cairo-Marsa Matruh

Servings at 7am departure and 7pm return from Almazra and Tahrir Square. Tickets LE36.

Cairo-Sidi Abdel-Rahman Services at 6.30am, 7am, 8am, 9am and 3.45pm. Tickets LE32.

Cairo-Port Said Services every half hour from 6am to 8am; then 9am, 10am, 5pm, and 4.30pm, from Almazra, then Ramsis Street. Tickets LE15 each way.

### Alexandria-Port Said

Service 6.45am, from Ramsis Square in Alexandria. Departs Port Said 3.30pm. Tickets LE22 each way.

### Cairo-Hurgada

Servings 8am and 2pm, from Tahrir, then Giza and Almazra. Departs Hurgada noon and 5pm. Tickets LE40 until 5pm; LE45 thereafter, both each way.

### Alexandria-Hurgada

Service 8pm, from Ramsis Square, Alexandria. Departs Hurgada 2.50pm. Tickets LE60 each way.

### Cairo-Sharm El-Sheikh

Service 11pm, from Tahrir, then Almazra. Departs Sharm El-Sheikh 11pm. Tickets LE50 each way.

### East Delta Bus Company

Buses travel to North South Sinai, Sinai, Suez and Ismailia. Buses to Ismailia and Suez depart from Qalbi (near Ramsis Square), Almazra and Tahrir Square (near Heliopolis). Buses to North and South Sinai depart from the Sinai bus station at Abassiya Square. Tel. 482-4753.

### Cairo-Ismailia

Servings every 45 minutes from 6.30am to 6pm, from Qalbi, then Almazra and Tahrir Square. Tickets deluxe bus LE5.75; air-conditioned bus LE5.35, one way.

### Cairo-Suez

Servings every half hour from 6am to 7pm, from Qalbi, then Almazra and Tahrir Square. Tickets deluxe bus LE5.75; air-conditioned bus LE5.35, one way.

### Cairo-El-Arish

Servings every hour from 7.30am to 4pm, from Qalbi, then Almazra and Tahrir Square. Tickets deluxe bus LE2.1; air-conditioned bus LE1.3, one way.

### Cairo-Sharm El-Sheikh

Servings every 45 min. from 7am to 6.30pm from Abassiya, then Almazra. Tickets morning LE27; evening LE40, one way.

### Cairo-Nureiba

Servings 8am, from Abassiya, then Almazra. Tickets deluxe bus LE31.

### West Delta Bus Company

Stations at Tahrir and Almazra. Tel. 243-1846.

### Cairo-Hurgada

Servings 9am, noon, 3pm, 10.30pm, 10.45pm and 11pm. Tickets LE30 one way.

### Cairo-Safage

Servings 9am and 3pm. Tickets LE35 one way.

### Cairo-Quesset

Service 10pm. Tickets LE38 one way.

### Cairo-Luxor

Service 9am. Tickets LE35 one way.

### Cairo-Aswan

Service 5pm. Tickets LE50 one way.

### Trains

Trains run to Alexandria, Port Said, Luxor and Aswan, from Ramsis Station, Tel. 147 or 575-3555.

### Cairo-Luxor-Aswan

"French" deluxe trains with sleepers. Services to Luxor and Aswan 7.40pm and 9pm (morning Luxor 6.40 am and 8am, Aswan 8.40am and 10am). Tickets to Luxor LE294 for foreigners and LE129 for Egyptians, to Aswan LE300 for foreigners; LE141 for Egyptians.

Services to Luxor and Aswan 6.45pm, 8.45pm and 9.45pm. Tickets to Luxor: first class LE51; second class LE31. Tickets to Aswan: first class LE63; second class LE37.

### Cairo-Alexandria

"Torbati" trains. VIP train: Service 8am. Tickets first class LE32 with a meal; LE22 without a meal. Standard train: Services 9am, 11am, noon, 5pm and 7pm. Tickets first class LE22; second class LE17.

### Cairo-Port Said

Servings 6.30am and 8.45am. Tickets first class LE45; second class LE25.

### second class LE26.

### EgyptAir

There are between two and five domestic flights daily. Check EgyptAir: Adly 390-0999; Opera 390-5444; or Heliex 77410.

### Cairo-Aswan

Tickets LE351 for Egyptians, LE143 for foreigners, both round-trip.

### Cairo-Luxor

Tickets LE259 for Egyptians, LE239 for foreigners, both round-trip.

### Cairo-Hurgada

Tickets LE279 for Egyptians, LE298 for foreigners, both round-trip.

### Cairo-Sharm El-Sheikh

Tickets LE287 for Egyptians, LE245 for foreigners, both round-trip.

### Seasonal deals

#### Hotels

##### Cairo

#### Movenpick Heliopolis

No special rates. On Christmas Eve, a dinner will be served in the Movenpick and Sereya restaurants, a 4-course menu for LE279. In the Orangery restaurant, dinner will be served from 6pm for LE75. Papillon Disco offers unique, all-night dancing, minimum charge LE45.

On Christmas Day, a 4-course menu will be served at the Movenpick and Sereya restaurants for LE285. The Orangery offers a buffet lunch from 11.30am to 6pm for LE68.

On New Year's Eve, a 6-course menu will be served for LE195 at the Movenpick and Sereya restaurants. The Papillon Disco will also be offering a 3-course menu, along with entertainment and an English DJ for LE230. A party in the Les Reines Banquet Room will include a gala dinner buffet, a belly dancer and two DJs for LE236.

##### Ramsis Hilton

No special rates. Dinner will be served at the Citadel Grill for LE136. Smoked salmon, crispy roast duck, omelette with asparagus and other specialties will be served. The deluxe menu will be LE159, and include smoked duck breast, Canadian lobster and other specialties. In the Terrace Cafe, a rich buffet will be served with a variety of terrines and galantines, duck liver and sliced smoked salmon, roasted veal loin, grilled lamb cutlets and other delicious plates.

On New Year's Eve, the Citadel Grill will offer two dinners for LE169 and LE182 respectively. Windows on the World restaurant, overlooking Cairo, will present a splendid show, including a belly dancer, Egyptian and international singers.

##### Hurgada

Seaside beach resort. Special offer of LE133 per person per night, half board including taxes and service.

##### Amman Hotel

Special offer of LE105 per person per night, half board including taxes and service.

##### Sharm El-Sheikh

Seaside beach resort. A Christmas dinner will be served at the Citadel restaurant. Cookies, chocolates and special Christmas cakes will be sold.

##### Movenpick Sharm El-Sheikh

No special rates. On Christmas Eve, a Santa Claus Christmas Party will be held for children. Another will be held for adults at the Cactus Disco. A special Christmas Day gala buffet will be held at the Orangery restaurant.

On New Year's Eve, a big tent will be erected for entertainment, including belly dancing, Russian shows and variety of singers.

On New Year's Day, a camel race will be organised, followed by a buffet lunch in the desert.

##### Novotel Sharm El-Sheikh

No special rates. On the Christmas Eve, a special party for children will be held at the swimming pool. Presents will be distributed. Another party will be organised for adults by the seaside. A tent will be erected for entertainment which will include dancing, shows and bands.

New Year's Eve, a party will be held around the swimming pool. It will feature belly dancing, aqua ballet and an oriental band.

##### Ghazala Hotel

On Christmas Eve, a gala buffet dinner will be served in the main restaurant with traditional delicacies, live entertainment and shows. Another gala dinner will be offered at Kaktus restaurant including a 6-course menu of traditional Western and Far Eastern specialties for LE180.

On Christmas Day, a special party for children will be held at the Ghazala Beach Bar for LE15 per child, including a magic show, Santa Claus and distribution of presents.

On New Year's Eve, the Kaktus restaurant will feature a gala dinner with 6 courses for LE240. At the Beach Bar a special party will be set up with a LE40 minimum charge.

##### Travel agencies:

Karakat Special trips to Beirut, Lebanon LE1310 for five days, including airfare and accommodation in a four-star hotel.

Compiled by Nabab Samad

## EGYPT AIR

Telephone numbers of EGYPT AIR offices in governorates:

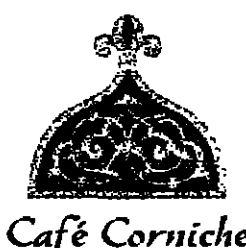
Abu Simbel Sales Office:	324236-324735
Alexandria Office: Ramsi:	4833357-4830778
Gleem:	586461-586434
Airport Office:	4218464-4227898-4282837-4281989
Aswan Office:	315000/12/3/4
Airport Office:	498397-498568
Assiut Office:	323151-322711-324008-323407
Mansoura Office:	363978-363733
Hurgada Office:	443591/4
Airport Office:	442883-443597
Ismailia Office:	328937-221950-221951/2-328936
Luxor Office:	384588/12/3/4
Airport Office:	384567/8
Luxor Office Karnak:	382360
Marsa Matruh Office:	934398
Menoufia Office (Sheikh El Kham):	233302-233323-233322
New Valley Office:	688794/695
Port Said Office:	224129-222878-228921
Port Said Office Karnak:	238533-239970
Sharm El Sheikh Office:	688314-688489
Airport Office:	688488
Taba Office:	688530/10-530/11
Direct:	5783620
Tanta Office:	311758/311780
Zakazik Office:	349829-349830/1

## Nostalgically Café Corniche.



## Uniquely Inter-Continental.

Presenting the newly opened Café Corniche with a sumptuous menu of Sultan Salads, Pasha's Pizzas & Pies, Turkish Delights and Coffee Specialities, you'll be stepping back to a nostalgic era of Sultans, Hanems, Palaces and Pashas... Enjoy the atmosphere of this charming café or take advantage of our take-away, offering all the tastiest delicacies and pastries the Semiramis has to offer.



Café Corniche

SEMIRAMIS INTER-CONTINENTAL CAIRO

For orders, please call our Café Corniche direct line, tel: 3571735 or by direct fax order, fax: 3563009

## Coasting along

A NEW coastal road extending for 75km from Damietta to Kafir El-Sheikh is nearly complete. The project is part of a three-year plan to connect eight governorates along the northern coast from Marsa Matruh through Alexandria, Damietta, Port Said and up to Rafah. The road will encourage regional tourism and triptych tourists — those with a pass enabling them to travel with minimum fuss through various countries of the region.

## Marine museum

YOUSSEF Pasha Kamal's palace in Alexandria's Stanley Bay is to be converted into a marine museum. It will display 62 objects currently being restored and documented by the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA). The artefacts represent different eras of shipping in Egypt from Pharaonic times to the present. One of the main features is a statue of Isis, goddess of the sea and sailors, weighing almost 25 tons.

## Russians are coming

THIS YEAR has witnessed an influx of Russian tourists to Egypt, a market previously described by tourist officials as weak. In the period from January to November, 118,028 Russians visited Egypt, which represents an increase by 14.8 per cent over the same period last year. "We can attribute this success to the marketing plan we adopted this year and which is being carried out by a specialised Russian company," said Dr Mamdouh El-Beltagi, the Minister of Tourism. The plan included TV advertisements on five major stations, advertisements in a number of Russian newspapers and magazines as well as posters displayed at underground stations and along the city streets.

"More Russian travel agencies are now organising trips to Egypt and this has encouraged EgyptAir to expand its schedules the type of aircraft being used in order to deal with the larger Russian market," Beltagi said.

## Christmas Eve



Join it up for Christmas Eve and listen to the smooth sounds of YEHIA KHALIL.



Sing along to your favourite Christmas tunes with lovely LINDA FLEMMING.



Enjoy a colourful Italian Christmas buffet at Cairo's authentic Italian restaurant.

## Christmas Day



Delight in a traditional Christmas Day lunch buffet with all the trimmings.



Enjoy a magical Christmas luncheon, to the gentle singing of lovely LINDA FLEMMING.



Be enchanted by the MOONLIGHT TRIO and dance to a candle lit dinner in French style.

## Christmas Eve



Dec 27-30: STAR NIGHTS, a glittering cast of entertainers will dazzle you as you dine.



For an international Christmas Eve, savor a variety of seasonal fare at our lavish buffet.



Celebrate a cozy Christmas Eve, Mediterranean style, with a special "XMAS BINGO".





"A tent is where the heart is." For the 250 Palestinians living in the Saloum desert, home is a camp between borders



photos: Aimen Al-Sayyad/Al-Majalla

## 'Until we're part of the world' Homeless bound

Despite the many manifestations of a new life created within the 500-metre long Palestinian refugee camp on the Egyptian-Libyan border, despair lingers in the air. **Amlra Howeldy** ventures into Libyan Saloum

Inside one of 60 shabby, patched-up, foul-smelling tents, Aymen Gomaa's family is watching the Egyptian satellite channel. Their red television set is their only means of entertainment since being stranded in the desert straddling the Egyptian-Libyan borders more than 15 months ago. They are Palestinian refugees who live in the "Camp of Return".

Next to the television set, Aisha Khamis is shaving her father-in-law's beard with a blunt knife. Beside her, her mother-in-law is busy bathing her three-week-old grandson, Essam, in a big bowl of warm water. Essam is camp member number 251.

Although he is not the first to be born in the camp, the story of Essam's birth has been told and retold; his 21-year-old mother, Aisha, did not know when she arrived at the Egyptian borders from Libya with her family in August last year, that she would begin a new life in this isolated desert on the Saloum elevation.

Egyptian authorities denied her family an entry visa. They were forced to take shelter, together with another four Palestinian families, in an old building on the Libyan side, hoping for a solution to their problem "in a matter of days", Aisha told *Al-Ahram Weekly*.

But a few days became more than one year and the five families grew to 35 as more and more Palestinians were thrown out of Libya on Mu'ammarr Gaddafi's orders and denied entry into Egypt. A few months after the first families arrived, Aymen Gomaa came from El-Arish (close to Rafah, Gaza). It was love at first sight; he and Aisha decided to get married last spring in the camp. A wedding dress was brought from Tripoli and a Libyan *ma'zoun* [Muslim minister] came from the Libyan border town of Mossa'id to wed and witness the first wedding held in this no man's land.

"When the *ma'zoun* was filling in the data required in the contract, he paused a little at the blank for place," recounted Aymen. "We didn't know what to do so, we wrote the 'Camp of Return'." The name stuck.

With no medical care or supervision during her pregnancy, Aisha's health grew weaker as the date of delivery drew near. Her family became very worried; they had not forgotten the tragedy of a woman, seven months pregnant, who arrived during the first days of the camp's establishment. She had complications, bled heavily and a few days after she gave birth to her child in a Libyan hospital, the baby died. The woman returned to the camp bitter and angry at "those who killed her son."

Aisha's father-in-law, Gomaa Abdel-Latif, recounted that despite such suffering they still had faith in God. "We put our fears aside and took her to a hospital in Mossa'id after obtaining permission from the Libyans. She gave birth to a healthy child, but she is still weak."

The camp has adapted itself to stress and extreme hardship. Thirty-five Palestinian families are crammed into 60 tents with no running water, health care and sometimes even no food. Snakes, scorpions and mice abound. But after 15 months, they are starting to get used to their bitter reality. Most are waiting for the new tents promised by the medical charity Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF).

Saloum is 400 metres above sea level. The temperature reaches 50 degrees Celsius in the summer and drops to -10 degrees Celsius in winter. With no electric heaters, the only way to stay relatively warm is to remain seated inside the tent wrapped up in as many clothes and blankets as possible.

MSF and other humanitarian organisations have been trying to provide medicine and fresh water for camp residents. But the supplies did not seem to suffice and MSF decided to send two workers to live in the camp to determine exactly what is needed.

"It's absolutely freezing at night," said 34-year-old MSF worker Paula Calahan as her teeth chattered in the cold. "I couldn't sleep during my first night. Everything here is so difficult; fresh water is not always provided by the UN for logistical reasons. Paula and her husband decided the MSF should provide as tents, cement to cover the ground and electricity lines. Dressed in modest Egyptian clothes and a thin shawl, Paula pointed out that although it was possible, she and her husband refused to live in more luxurious conditions. They chose to sleep, eat and spend their days exactly like the camp residents."

idents. "We experience their suffering in order to be able to properly assess what they really need," she said.

Return camp was the focus of international attention when Libyan President Mu'ammarr Gaddafi, critical of the Israeli-Palestinian peace accords, announced last year that he would expel all 30,000 Palestinians in Libya. Nowadays hardly any mention is made of the fate of the camps residents. Believing the accords left the 4 million Palestinian refugees worldwide with no hope of ever returning to their home, Gaddafi decided to take action and pressure the Israelis and Palestinians to put the refugee issue on their agenda. The result was that more than 1,200 Palestinians ended up in the garbage-strewn border camp.

Several hundred more with travel papers made it to Syria, Lebanon, Jordan or the Palestinian territories. And after lobbying by Arab governments, Gaddafi took about 650 back. Those left behind are mainly descendants of the Palestinians who fled their homes after the occupation of Palestine and the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. None of the peace accords signed so far (Oslo, Cairo and Taba) makes any mention of the 1948 Palestinians, while some reference is made to the displaced Palestinians who fled their homes in the 1967 war.

Horrorified by the fear that their camp would meet the same fate as dozens of other Palestinian refugee camps scattered throughout Arab countries, six Palestinians began a hunger strike last week. "No one is doing anything for us and we are fed up with all of this," said one young Palestinian who was sitting under a sign in Arabic reading, "We are observing a hunger strike until our problem is solved."

But what if it isn't? "I will fast until I die, and God is with us," said Said Elewa 57, who arrived at the camp two months ago. He had tried to visit his Egyptian wife and children who live in Cairo but was stopped by Egyptian border security forces.

Some 30 Palestinians in the camp are married to Egyptian wives and are living with the hope that the Egyptian authorities will grant them residence in Egypt. "Half of my family lives in Egypt, three of my sons and my wife. All I want is to live with them. Isn't that my right as a human being?" said Ismail Elian, a Palestinian who lived and worked in Egypt for 11 years before he left to work in Libya for higher wages. "I didn't realise that after all this I would be thrown into the desert."

Many of these men's Egyptian wives live in Egypt with their children and come to visit their husbands every three or four months. The rest take turns lobbying the Interior Ministry to forward requests to the presidency for their husbands' residency. "We know that the Egyptian nationality law does not grant the husband of an Egyptian wife or her children the nationality. We are not asking for that, we just want to live in Egypt since we can't live in Palestine," said Shadia Abdel-Hamid, an Egyptian married to a Palestinian.

But the chances that Shadia's wishes come true are very slim. Allowing them to enter Egypt without proper papers to move on to their country is not a solution to the problem, Nal'a Gahr, head of the Human Rights Department in the Foreign Ministry told the *Weekly*. "They are not on Egyptian soil to begin with," she pointed out.

All that Egypt can do in this situation, she added, is to facilitate the duties of humanitarian organisations such as MSF and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). As for those married to Egyptians, said Gahr, "their situation is being studied from a legal perspective in the ministry."

But according to a source in the ministry, Egypt "has closed this file and will not open it again." If Egypt permits any of the 189 refugees inside the country, it will be faced with 30,000 Palestinians in Libya without work permits or residences, who will demand the same right, said the source.

"The only practical solution in this case is that Libya contains this problem," he said. The source noted that Egypt has filed this request several times, the latest of which was during President Mubarak's visit to Libya three weeks ago. On the other hand, he said, the problem is creating more complicated issues: "It is believed that the border camp is being used by international humanitarian groups to damage Libyan-Egyptian relations by upgrading the camp and providing it with new tents so that it remains in this area as long as possible, which is what Egypt doesn't want."



### Worldwide distribution of the Palestinian population

Place of refuge	Population (1995)	Percentage of total population	Number of Refugees
Jordan	1,054,978	14%	542,647
Gaza	775,227	10%	537,442
West Bank	1,418,503	8%	62,155
Libya	62,155	1%	62,155
Other Arab countries	1,054,978	14%	1,478,686
Other Arab countries	2,142,451	28%	740,812
Other Arab countries	801,774	10%	355,428
Other Arab countries	374,132	5%	57,791
Other Arab countries	57,791	1%	73,339
Other Arab countries	73,339	1%	240,128
Other Arab countries	240,128	3%	15,000
Other Arab countries	24,000	—	104,228
Other Arab countries	104,228	1%	58,748
Other Arab countries	58,748	1%	188,181
Other Arab countries	224,241	3%	183,541
Other Arab countries	224,241	3%	4,645,248
Total	7,897,929	100%	

which is what Egypt doesn't want."

But it seems that Egypt has partially solved this problem. According to Panos Mommis, head of the UNHCR regional bureau, Egypt has "moved" its borders with Libya by shifting the Libyan borders 300 metres towards Egypt, thereby locating the camp's area inside Libya and not in no man's land as it was when the camp was constructed last year.

As the camp awaits a political solution which may never come, life continues inside the 60 tents. Some of the residents have taken up gardening and green plants surround their tents. Others make a living by sorting smuggled objects — a service which earns them a few hundred dollars per month, according to an Egyptian customs official. "Some of them who were caught confessed," he said.

The sun sets at 4:30pm as some of the camp residents, originally teachers, finish off their daily lessons to the children who run around the camp playing with stray dogs, playing football and hide and seek. The elder generations retire to their tents and watch the satellite channels. "Every day we watch what is happening in the outside world, maybe one day we will be part of it," sighed Shadia.

THE CAMP of Return — a name which holds much symbolism for Palestinians — is the most recent manifestation of the usurpation of Palestine and the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. Months after the establishment of Israel, the UN issued Resolution 193, stipulating the right of Palestinians to return to their land and receive compensation. But the resolution, like many others, was never implemented and continues to be ignored by Israel.

The camp itself is only one of dozens of Palestinian refugee camps spread throughout Jordan, Gaza, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and along the borders between these nations. Border camps have continued to grow in number during the past 48 years. Although the "right to return" has become a political idiom, the fate of more than four million refugees remains at best undetermined.

The three existing Palestinian-Israeli peace accords (Oslo, Cairo and Taba) made no reference nor offered any solutions to the problem of the Palestinian refugees forced out in 1948. This, along with Jerusalem, settlements, security and border issues, has been left for the final stage of the peace negotiations.

In principle, the Oslo peace accords recognise the right of "displaced" Palestinians from the 1967 War to return. A special four-member refugee committee consisting of representatives from Israel, the Palestinian National Authority, Egypt and Jordan was formed to follow up the return issue. Although it has assembled four times already, the committee accomplished little except for entry permits issued by Israel for an annual quota of 2,000 Palestinians to enter the West Bank and Gaza.

According to Mohamed Sobeh, Arab League Palestinian representative, the reason why the committee has failed so far in reaching a consensus is that Israel continues to question the estimated number of the 1967 Palestinians. The Palestinians claim they are more than 800,000 while Israel insists they are only 90,000. Israel also refuses to recognise the descendants of the 1948 Palestinians as "refugees" and these are estimated at 4,650,000.

According to Israel's definition, a displaced Palestinian is "a citizen who emigrated from the West Bank and Gaza during the [1967] war". This ignores the greater part of the displaced Palestinians.

The Palestinian definition, on the other hand, includes those citizens who emigrated during the war, the citizens of the Occupied Territories who were living abroad at the time of the war and were not allowed to return and the citizens of the Occupied Territories who lost the right to reside there after 1967 as a result of the policies and obstacles created by the Israeli authorities.

During the refugee committee meetings, however, Israel recognised only 200,000 "displaced" Palestinians' right to enter the West Bank and Gaza for "humanitarian", not political reasons. The bigger problem, however, was Israel's insistence on referring to the "entry" rather than the "return" of the displaced, which was rejected by the Palestinian side. As the "return" deadlock continues to persist, refugee camps remain the only home for thousands of Palestinians.





The hysterical fans, holding colourful flags supporting Zamalek during the match

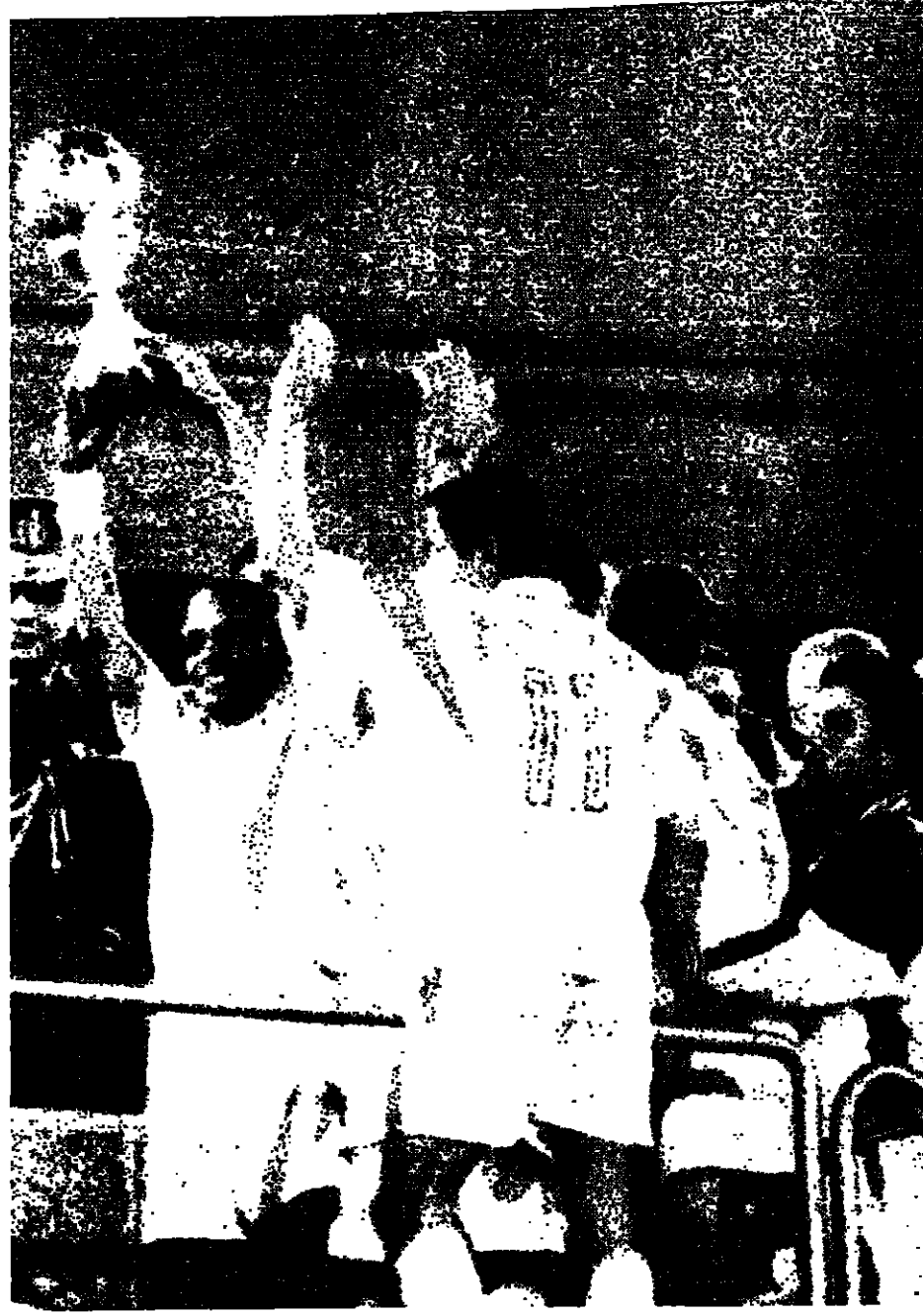


photo Hosam Diab

Team Captain Ismail Yousef receiving the Champions Cup

photo Mohamed Wassim

# Zamalek fever

Zamalek won its fourth African Champions Cup in 12 years besting Shooting Stars of Nigeria. The Egyptian triumph rounds out three decades of frustration for Nigeria

Playing before a less than subdued — they were hysterical — capacity crowd, estimated at 100,000 at the Cairo Stadium, with a spill-over of at least 10,000 more outside, Zamalek nabbed its fourth African Champions Cup trophy. All home club biases were set aside as fans made the area outside the arena resplendent with the white flags of Zamalek and the red, yellow, and green flags representative of other Egyptian clubs in a show of support.

Zamalek was leading 2-0 and was heading to an apparent 3-2 aggregate victory when Nigeria's John Benson outmanoeuvred the home team's goalkeeper Hussein El-Sayed with a left-footed drive out at the goal's mouth in the 89th minute.

It was the same scenario as that played out during the first-leg match which took place two weeks ago in Nigeria between the two sides. Egyptian mid-fielder Tarek Moustafa spoiled the Nigerians' celebrations of a 2-0 victory, as he scored a last-minute goal to change the result to 2-1.

That score sent the game to penalties, where Benson — a hero only moments before — was turned into villain when he bounced the Stars' final attempt off the crossbar.

The Stars saw Nigeria's chances of ending a title drought in the Champions Cup vanish, keeping the West African nation's 30-year record of never having won the crown intact. Zamalek's victory gave Egypt a sweep of Africa's two premier club titles. The Cup Winners Cup went to cross-town rivals Arab Contractors two weeks ago when they defeated Sogiraf of Zaire 4-0. This victory increased Egypt's superiority over their Nigerian counterparts. The two countries have played 10 matches in 20 years; the Egyptian teams won six encounters and scored 19 goals, while the Nigerians have taken four matches and scored 11 goals.

Zamalek took control of the game early on, but were thwarted by Shooting Stars goalkeeper Biodun Baruwa, on an early chance.

Veteran striker Ayman Mansour struck out when he hit the left post in the 18th minute, but then set up Zamalek's first goal 11 minutes later. Mansour sent a low cross inside the box to unmarked defender Medhat Abdel-Hadi, suffering from a bad cold which struck him the day before the match, who connected with a left-footed drive.

The Egyptian team doubled its advantage in

the 66th minute when Mansour scored one of his own, finishing off a play that started with defender Ashraf Qassem, who sent mid-fielder Tarek Moustafa a through ball. Moustafa was able to outpace an advancing Baruwa down the right side before lifting a cross to Mansour, who scored off a header.

Defender Qassem was the only Zamalek player on the field from the team's winning line-up for the African Champions Cup in 1986, when he, at the age of 18, was still a new-born star, playing in the African final.

The Stars chances seemed to sink when David Ugaga was sent off for punching Osama Nabih in the 60th minute. The Nigerian club, however, was still able to generate some offense manoeuvres, sending the game to penalties with a minute remaining.

With only seconds to go in the match, Zamalek's German Manager Olk Werner kept his head well enough to pull goalie Hussein El-Sayed and replace him with Nader El-Sayed, the team's expert penalty saver. El-Sayed rescued two penalties in the semi-final against Tarag of Tunisia to give Zamalek the victory to carry through to the final.

The final went into spot-kicks almost im-

mediately — African competitions do not allow for extra time in an aggregate draw — when both teams scored four out of their five regulation penalties before Osama Nabil put Zamalek ahead 5-4. Stars' substitute Ademola Johnson sent the ball scorching to post only to see it hit the underside of the bar and bounce out to give Zamalek the victory.

"It was bad for the heart," commented Zamalek's Werner, "But I had confidence in my players and I know they can take penalties."

Amidu Shooib, coach of both the Shooting Stars and the Nigerian national team, said, "We were a little overwhelmed by the crowd but we did well to fight back."

A melee ensued when Nigerian supporters, pelted with objects throughout the game by unsportsmanlike home fans on the terraces above, returned fire. Police chased the agitators from the terraces with 20 minutes of the match still to play. The disturbance left six people injured and one stadium gate wrecked in addition to other unspecified damage.

Zamalek previously won the Champions Cup in '84, '86, and '93, with all of the four titles taken with penalty shoot-outs.

## Team line-up

THE EGYPTIAN national soccer team's head coach, Farouk Gaspar, announced the new line-up for the team shortly before they entered a local closed training camp. The 23 member-strong squad has commenced drilling for the upcoming match against Tunisia in the World Cup qualifications on 12 January in Tunis. The national team will first play two friendlies against Romania on 20 December in Mansoura and Belarus on 4 January in Alexandria.

## Out of hospital

NIGERIAN soccer star Nwankwo Kanu was released from hospital 18 days after heart surgery to repair a weak aortic valve. The African footballer of the year's Milan-based club quoted cardiologist John Kramer as saying that the player was now undergoing rehabilitation expected to last several months. Kanu was operated on at Ohio's Cleveland Clinic. Kanu's heart ailment was discovered by Inter-Milan Club doctors in September after the Nigerian forward transferred to Italy from Ajax Amsterdam on a three-year contract.

## Four seasons

NIGERIAN mid-fielder Emmanuel Amunike has been formally presented as the ninth new signing for FC Barcelona under English coach Bobby Robson. The 26-year-old former Sporting Lisbon player signed for four seasons with the Spanish powerhouse, currently No 3 in the first division. A member of Nigeria's Atlanta Olympic gold-winning team, Amunike joins an array of foreign stars, including Brazilians Ronaldo and Giovanni, signed to Barcelona since Robson took over this season.

## Ronaldo's percentage

FC BARCELONA'S 20-year-old Brazilian striker Ronaldo has been voted player of the year by the readers of the respected magazine *World Soccer*. Ronaldo garnered 16.56 per cent of the votes ahead of England's Alan Shearer, top scorer at the European Championship, with 14.42. AC Milan's Liberian striker George Weah, who won the FIFA player of the year title in 1995 and is in contention for the 1996 award, placed third with 14.03 per cent of the vote. Bert Vogts, who led Germany to an unprecedented third European Championship title, nabbed the manager of the year award and Nigeria, the first African nation to win the Olympic soccer title, was honoured with the team award.

## Continental clash

The line-up for an African squad to play Europe on 29 January in Lisbon has been announced by the African Football Federation, with defender Yasser Radwan the only Egyptian among the twenty-man team

A selection of 20 top footballers has been named by the Confederation Africaine de Football to represent the continent in a match against Europe in the new year. The match, the proceeds of which will be donated to Europe's 1997 "Year Against Racism", is scheduled for 29 January in Lisbon.

Former Algerian coach Rabah Madjer is set to direct the team which includes members from Algeria, Cameroon, Chad, Egypt, Ghana, Liberia, Morocco, Niger, and South Africa.

While it comes as no surprise that Olympic winners Nigeria, with 10 footballers, will be the dominant force on the squad, the exclusion of proven talents has been the cause of some consternation. Only defender Mark Fish

from African Nations Cup holders South Africa has been picked for the African squad. His compatriots, goalkeeper Andre Arendse, and mid-fielders 'Shoes' Moshoeu and Eric Tinkler have been left out of the draft.

Tunisia, surprise runners-up to hosts South Africa in the African cup, fared even worse with none of their players named to the team.

On the Nigerian side, medal-winning goalkeeper Joseph Dosu, lost out to compatriot Abidun Baruwa, a player not considered good enough for the Atlanta squad. Newly crowned African footballer of the year Nwankwo Kanu will be sorely missed as he remains sidelined following



Egypt's Yasser Radwan

heart surgery in the US.

Mid-fielder Kanu, a mid-year signee with Italian club Inter-Milan following two seasons with Ajax in Holland, awaits a March decision

on his football career.

Other African footballer of the year finalists not selected for the historic match were Zambian Kalusha Bwalya, Nigerian Emmanuel Amunike and the injured Ghanaian Anthony Yeboah.

Yeboah's fellow countryman, veteran German-based mid-fielder Abedi Pele, is considered the likely captain of the team which three-time Senegalese national coach Mawade Wade will manage.

The choice of Madjer as coach, sacked by Algeria last year after indifferent results, has disappointed South Africa, which considered African Nations Cup-winning coach Clive Barker a natural choice.

## Scrooged

The air of celebration following Egypt's dual triumphs in recent African championships was dampened following a ruling by the Confederation Africaine de Football on fan behaviour at an African nations qualifier at the Cairo Stadium in October

penalties in future. A date was also decided for the African Super Cup tournament, between home rivals, the African Cup Winners Cup champions Arab Contractors and the Champions Cup winners Zamalek. The EGF was given the latitude to select 14, 15 or 16 February for the match to be held at the Cairo Stadium.

The CAF board likewise announced the 1997 schedule and programme for African competitions. A formidable line-up of former title holders are included in the 114 clubs set to compete.

With the CAF dividing clubs on the basis of strength and geography, the first round normally serves as a weeding process.

Regional showdowns regularly provide the greatest excitement with the West African derby between newcomers Udoji United of Nigeria and the experienced Kalou Stars of Guinea, a major Cham-

pions Cup attraction. Unknowns Udoji left a trail of leading clubs in their wake last year on their way to securing their first national title while Kalou were runners-up to Etoile du Sahel in the 1995 CAF Cup.

Other intriguing ties include the East African clash between Breweries of Kenya and Al-Hilal of Sudan and the renewal of an old national rivalry when Caps United Zimbabwe tackle Express of Uganda.

Mumias Sugar of Kenya looks set for a baptism by fire in the Cup Winners Cup against Arab Contractors, who clinched a third title last week with their four-goal demolition of Zaire's Sogiraf. Mansoura, the second Egyptian entrant, will head south to Khartoum, where they will play against 1989 Cup Winners Cup champions Al-Masraki.

Edited by Inas Mazhar

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# SIEMENS

# قوة فريدة...

## قوة ارسال واستقبال ليس لهل مثل

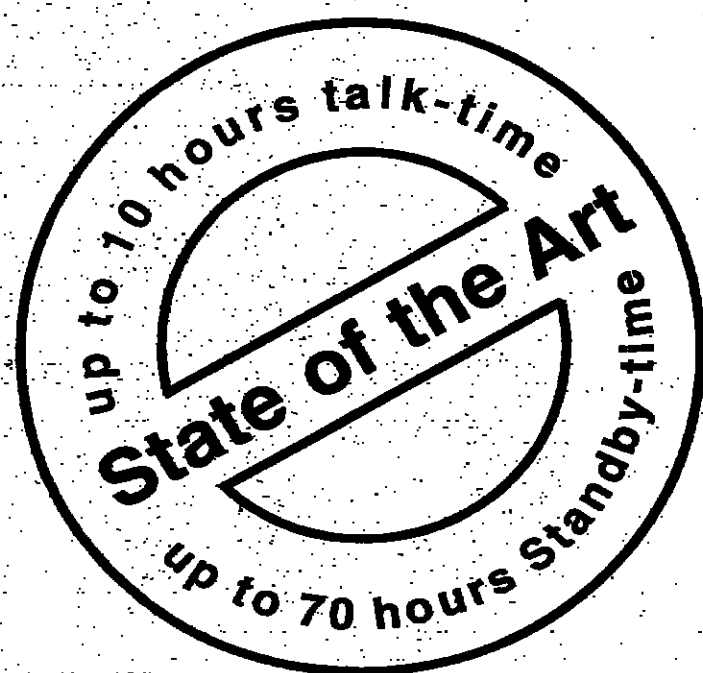
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## سيمنس ... عالم مختلف تماماً



الموزعون المعتمدون	
<p>شركة التكنولوجيا (TNT) تليفون: ٠٧١١٣٢٢ / ٠٧١١٣٢٢ الفاكس: ٠٧١١٣٢٢ / ٠٧١١٣٢٢ تليفون: ٣٢٥١١١٦ / ٣٢٥١١١٦ (٥.٥)</p>	<p>لجيبيكوم فيرم - الاسكندرية تليفون: ٥٤٦١٣٠٠ / ٥٤٦١٣٠٠ (٥) الاسكندرية ٣٦٠٧٣٥٠ / ٣٦١١٣١٥ الف القاهرة</p>
الموزعون	
<p>شركة البوخته تليفون: ٣٧٠٩٠٦٦ موسسة عماد المصيري الكويته تليفون: ٣٧١١١٣٢٢</p>	<p>شركة اونيست تويد تليفون: ٢٤٦١٤٥٥ / ٢٤٦١٤٥٥</p>
مناقذ البيع	
<p>شركة الأهرام التجارية تليفون: ٣٧١١٥٥١ / ٣٧١١٥٥١ (١٥) معرض رشاد تليفون: ٣٧١٥٨٠٢ / ٣٧١٥٨٠٢ (١٥) جوين باور تليفون: ٣٧١٢٩٠٢ / ٣٧١٢٩٠٢ (١٥) معرض اذر تليفون: ٣٧١١١٥٩ / ٣٧١١١٥٩ مكتبة عقيقي تليفون: ٣٧١٥٠٦١ / ٣٧١٥٠٦١</p>	<p>فول اند فلور تليفون: ٣٤٥١٠٠٠ / ٣٤٥١٠٠٠ سويت فيم تليفون: ٣٤٥١٠٠٠ / ٣٤٥١٠٠٠ معرض هوان تليفون: ٣٧١٢٣٩٠ / ٣٧١٢٣٩٠ (١٥) معرض بيتي الاسكندرية للتوزيع تليفون: ٣٤٤١٣٥٥ / ٣٤٤١٣٥٥ تليفون: ٢٤٦١٨٦٠ / ٢٤٦١٨٦٠ فاكس: ٢٤٤١٣٥٥</p>
محلات	
<p>شركة مركز التجارة العالمية تليفون: ٣٧٠٩٨٨٠ / ٣٧٠٩٨٨٠ شركة الزملاك تليفون: ٣٤٠١١٣٢٢ / ٣٤٠١١٣٢٢</p>	<p>فرع المعادي تليفون: ٣٥١١٣٢٢ / ٣٥١١٣٢٢ فرع الميناء تليفون: ٣٤٣٢٣٣٣ / ٣٤٣٢٣٣٣ فرع روكسي</p>
<p>فرع محمد محمود (طلعت حرب) تليفون: ٥٧٠٦٠٠٠ / ٥٧٠٦١٣٢٢ فرع الكويته تليفون: ٣٧١١٣٢٢ / ٣٧١١٣٢٢</p>	<p>فرع جروب تليفون: ٣٤٤١٣٤٤ / ٣٤٤١٣٤٤ معرض بوش تليفون: ٣٧٠٩٠١١ / ٣٧٠٩٠١١ القاهرة للمبانيات تليفون: ٣٧١٥٨٥٥ / ٣٧١٥٨٥٥ معرض مبراج تليفون: ٣٧٠٩٠٦٦ / ٣٧٠٩٠٦٦ م/حازم سليمان تليفون: ٣٧٠٩٠٦٦ / ٣٧٠٩٠٦٦ شركة التظيم تليفون: ٣٧٠٩٠٦٦ / ٣٧٠٩٠٦٦ رامبو طلعت</p>

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# FINLAND EGYPT

Special supplement marking  
Finland's Independence Day

A message from the Finnish ambassador to Cairo, Garth Castren, on Finland's Independence Day

## Finland supports the vital Egyptian role in the Middle East peace process

The strong ties between Finland on the one hand, and Egypt and the Arab world on the other, go back centuries to the days of Arab and Finnish travellers, such as Ibn Fadlan, who visited the steppes of Finland and its rich forests and lakes in the 13th century, or the explorer George August (1811-1852) who visited Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula in the 19th century, converted to Islam and changed his name to Abdel-Mawla. Because of Finland's wonderment with Middle Eastern civilisation in general, and Ancient Egyptian civilisation in particular, Egypt occupies a prominent place in history books used in Finnish schools. Among these books, for example, is the story of the well-known Pharaonic physician Sennet, which Finnish writer Mica Vallari wrote about. An Arabic translation of this book is available in Egypt.

Diplomatic ties between Egypt and Finland go back to 1947, and since that time have developed at a rapid pace to include all fields. Finland's neutral policy runs in agreement with the non-alignment policy followed by Egypt. Finland supported the peaceful policy of Egypt in the '70s when Finnish peacekeeping forces were sent to Sinai in the wake of the 1973 War, and has likewise supported Egypt's emerging role in the Middle East peace process. Finland's role and interest in the Middle East countries of the Mediterranean increased after it gained membership in the European Union, and likewise has symbolically become the region's closest nation.

As for economic relations between the two countries, annual economic assistance to Egypt began in 1975, and varied in size according to the projects undertaken.

This should not be perceived as the complete picture, for cooperative relations between the two countries include numerous fields such as power, foodstuffs safety, cartography, an infrastructural database, agricultural products, fighting against environmental pollution, factories and sanitation and water treatment stations. It is worth mentioning that the first hospital built in the

Sinai after its liberation in 1982, at Bir El-Abed, was a gift to Egypt from the Finnish people.

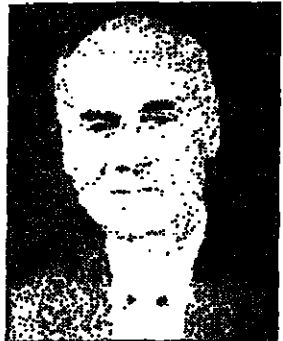
Finland's foreign policy is aimed towards promoting world peace, through peaceful conflict resolution and through the activities of the United Nations aimed at spreading solidarity. It has also supported the signing of treaties aimed at banning nuclear testing.

Finland is a nation that has upheld its commitment to the United Nations by paying its dues and supporting the role it plays in the international arena.

Finland likewise acknowledges the pioneering role of Egypt in supporting regional and world peace. Finland was also the first country to write off Egypt's accumulated debts, which had reached LE160 million by 1990.

As for commercial ties between the two countries, Finnish exports to Egypt include printing paper, lumber, and advanced technological equipment such as portable telephones which enjoys prominence in the Egyptian market, whereby the volume of Finnish exports to Egypt has reached LE330 million annually. On the other hand, Egyptian exports to Finland such as produce and cotton products occupy a high rank in the Finnish market, in spite of the strong competition with other countries. Egypt has become Finland's number one trading partner from North Africa, and number two in the Middle East. Truly I can say that for the more than 4 years I have been in Egypt, I have been a witness to the dramatic changes that have taken place in the Egyptian economy, without which could not have made it possible for the MENA III summit to be held in Cairo last month. The President of Finland Martti Ahtisaari was able to visit Egypt last March, where he met with President Hosni Mubarak and a number of high-ranking officials.

On a personal note, I would like to say Egypt's Foreign Ministry and diplomats are first-class professionals. The Middle East, especially Egypt, has left a lasting influence on me.



Garth Castren



Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, president of the Republic of Finland

Helsinki: Mohamed Seif El-Yazl

### YIT Corporation opens branch office in Cairo

YIT CORPORATION, the leading Finnish construction company on domestic and international operations, has taken firm steps to strengthen its capabilities in Egyptian markets by opening a branch office in Zamalek.

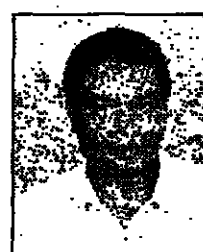
Presently, YIT is employing approximately 7,000 people in Finland and abroad. In the Middle East, YIT has been active since 1958, and completed numerous projects in different countries within the area. The majority of YIT's contracts have been in Saudi Arabia, starting in 1966 and ending up to more than 40 different completed projects until now.

In Egypt, YIT started in 1980 and has been acting mostly on the projects related to one of YIT's main activities abroad, water treatment technology. The latest completed projects are Ras El-Bar sewage treatment plant, Badr City pumping station and Edfu pulp mill effluent treatment plant. For the time being, YIT is executing the supervision of operation and maintenance of the Ras

El-Bar sewage treatment plant.

One of YIT's basic principles in international operations has been the cooperation with local companies, designers and contractors. That policy has also been followed in Egypt with good proficiency. From the very beginning, YIT has been utilising the local workforce, suppliers, workshops and subcontractors in their projects. That kind of activity is expected to be even more effective after registering the branch office.

Mr. Farouk Ali, who has already had a successful 12 years with YIT, is acting as branch manager in the new Zamalek office located on 3 Abu Feda Street.



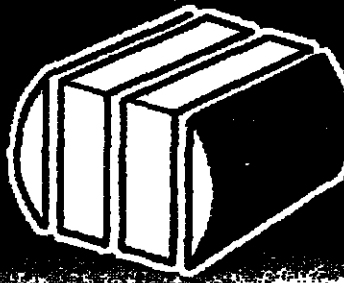
Farouk Ali  
Manager  
Egyptian branch



MARTTI AHTISARRI,  
President of Finland

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## تجارة الأخشاب



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AN EXAMPLE OF FINNISH WOOD IN USE



EXAMINING THE VARIETIES OF WOOD

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مكتبة من الأصل



FINLAND



EGYPT

Special supplement marking  
Finland's Independence Day

### Kvaerner Masa-Yards Inc — the experienced builder of ships

Kvaerner Masa-Yards Inc operates two modern newbuilding yards in Finland: Turku New Shipyard and Helsinki New Shipyard. Kvaerner a.s. Shipbuilding Group is one of the largest in the world with newbuilding yards in five countries. Kvaerner Masa-Yards, with its 5,000 employees, is the largest company within the group.

Kvaerner Masa-Yards specialises in designing and producing technically advanced ships for clients who demand competitiveness, reliability and quality.

In addition to producing LNG carriers, Kvaerner Masa-Yards builds cruise liners and passenger ferries, icebreakers and ice-going tonnage and other special technology vessels, such as special tankers, cable ships, dredgers, research vessels, crane vessels, heavy-lift and offshore vessels.

In spite of the overcapacity and a generally low price level within the shipbuilding industry, Kvaerner Masa-Yards has succeeded in increasing its profitability and in maintaining a reasonably high orderbook at its two shipyards. 1995 was Kvaerner Masa-Yards' best year in its six years of existence, a result of a strict commit-

ment to the development of the core values of Kvaerner Masa-Yards — our experienced dedicated personnel and our efficient highly modern production facilities.

Satisfying customers is our prime goal. This is achieved by producing, at competitive prices, top quality products that incorporate the best technical solution and delivering them on schedule. We know that our customers' success is the key to Kvaerner Masa-Yards' own prosperity — and will continue to refine and develop our operations for this purpose.

#### Committed personnel

Kvaerner Masa-Yards has a personnel of about 4,900. A rational teamwork model has been introduced throughout the organisation. Clear goals, open communication, trust and confidence, and involvement in everyday decision-making yield a high level of commitment and motivation. The professional, highly-skilled personnel produce excellent workmanship at a competitive cost.



Martin Saarikangas  
President  
Kvaerner Masa-Yards

### Konecranes:

A leader in the design and manufacture of large cranes

KONECRANES was founded in 1933 in the Finnish city of Hyvinkää to produce large-scale cranes. Since this date, the company has become a leading company in the field, designing and manufacturing cranes of the highest standard in the world, meeting the needs of ports and companies all over the world.

During the 2nd Cairo Maritime Exhibition, *Marines 96, Money and Business* conducted an interview with project manager Thomas Sastamunin and Hossem Shaker, the company's agent in Egypt. Shaker said that his company is keeping pace with the development and modernisation policies initiated by President Hosni Mubarak, under the supervision of Minister of Transport and Communications Suleiman Metwally. He stated: "We are participating in this exhibition to display the latest in winch technology, design and manufacture. This is a great opportunity for us to offer our services to the sea transport

sector in Egypt, serving Egyptian ports. Our company serves the national economy within the policy that seeks to boost exports and to compete at the international level in order to attract foreign investments. Sastamunin stated that the company's emphasis is on simplicity of design and high production standards, developed at the company's research and design department.

He added that the after-sales service department has locations throughout the world to provide maintenance to 75 thousand winches of all types. The department also maintains highly-trained engineers who operate efficiently to meet customer demand for spare parts, training, and consultation.

The Konecranes wing at the Cairo Maritime Exhibition showed leaders of Egypt's maritime industry the quality of goods and services offered by the company.

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### Finland: A stable, fast-growing economy



Nils-Christen Berg  
Chief executive  
Invest in Finland Bureau

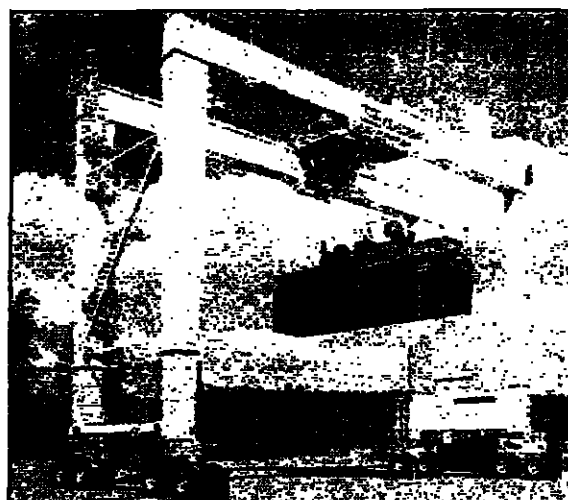
FINLAND — a member of the European Union since the beginning of 1995 — is a small but thriving industrial nation with a unique role in exploiting the possibilities of what has been called the "New Northern Europe" market area. The economy is one of the fastest-growing in the EU.

Over recent years many millions of dollars have been invested in Finland by European and American businesses keen to take advantage of the country's position as a base for exporting to growing markets in Scandinavia, Eastern and Central Europe and the former Soviet Union.

The geography of Finland is one reason for the overseas investment which is taking place. Goods can be delivered to the important market of St Petersburg, for instance, within 12 hours and to Moscow within 24 hours. Stockholm is only a few hours away, the whole of Eastern Europe is within easy reach.

With a population of only five million, the Finns have always realised that their prosperity depends on being able to sell high-quality products to the world. Recently they have been in the forefront of the information technology revolution — as everybody knows if they have watched the remarkable growth of Nokia, Europe's largest manufacturer of mobile phones.

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#### NOTE

We wish to draw to the attention of official bodies, individuals and agents that Finnish area codes have been changed



Example:  
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Will become  
+358-9-112 348

#### New area codes

	2	3	5	6	8	9	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Old area codes	21	16	51	61	81	0	73	41	55	60	71	28	11
	22	17	52	62	82		74	42	56	692	72		12
	24	18	53	63	83		75	43	57	695	77		14
	25	19	54	64	84		76	44	58	694	78		15
	26	31		65	85			45	59	695	79		
	30	32		66	86			46		697			
	32	33		67	88			47		698			
	38	34		68	89								
	39	35											
		36											
	37												

# Kvaerner Masa-Yards

The second of four LNG carriers for Abu Dhabi National Oil Company,  
Newbuilding no. 1331, was named at Kvaerner Masa-Yards' Turku New  
Shipyard



The naming ceremony of the second liquefied natural gas carrier, in a series of four 135,000 m³ ships ordered by Abu Dhabi National Oil Company (ADNOC), United Arab Emirates, took place today at Kvaerner Masa-Yards' Turku New Shipyard.

The naming ceremony was honoured by the presence of His Excellency Mr. Yousef Omais Bin Yousef, secretary-general of the Abu Dhabi Supreme Petroleum Council and general manager of Abu Dhabi National Oil Company, Mr. Hiroshi Araki, president of Tokyo Electric Power Company, and sponsor of the vessel, Mrs. Kuniko Araki, who named the vessel *Maweh*, His Excellency Mr. Mohammad Sultan Al-Awad, United Arab Emirates' ambassador to Finland, Mrs. Sumiko Takahara, ambassador of Japan in Finland, Mr. Salah Salem Al-Shamsi, projects director of ADNOC, Mr. Satoshi Shirashi, director and senior general manager of Tokyo Electric Power Company and other senior management of Abu Dhabi National Oil Company, Tokyo Electric Power Company, Abu Dhabi Gas Liquefaction Company (ADGAS), National Gas Shipping Company (NGSCO), Mitsui & Co., British Petroleum, TOTAL and ship managers Gotas-Larsen.

The naming ceremony, which was attended by some 200 guests, was hosted by Mr. Martin Saarikangas, president and CEO of Kvaerner Masa-Yards Inc.

The 135,000 m³ LNG carrier *Maweh*, one of the largest LNG carriers in the world, will be delivered to her owners shortly, followed by two sister ships in 1997. The order of four LNG carriers was placed in April 1993. The first vessel, *Mubarak*, was delivered in January, and has since then successfully been engaged in transporting LNG from Abu Dhabi Gas Liquefaction Company to Tokyo Electric Power Company in Japan under the operation of the National Gas Shipping Company.

The LNG cargo container system is based on the Kvaerner Mose-type spherical aluminium tank design. Differing from other 135,000 m³ vessels built, the LNG carriers developed by Kvaerner Masa-Yards have only four spherical aluminium cargo tanks, simplifying cargo systems and operations. The LNG tank manufacturing method, recently developed at the Turku New Shipyard, is the most modern in the world.

#### Main particulars of LNG carrier *Maweh*:

Overall length	290 m	Dead-weight	72,950 tonnes
Breadth	48.1 m	Gross tonnage	116,700
Depth to upper deck	27.0 m	Machinery output	29,600 kw
Design draught	11.3 m	Service speed	19.5 knots

For more information, please contact:

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P.O. Box 132  
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